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ABSTRACT

Papers presented by social scientists at a 1974 Joint Council seminar designed to assist authors and publishers in improving existing materials or developing new texts in social studies are reproduced in this volume. The seven papers focus on how to integrate economics into elementary and secondary social studies and history courses. The first article by James D. Calderwood, entitled "Economic Ideas and Concepts," discusses the basic principles and importance of economic concepts. Melvin M. Tumin in "The Role of Economics in Social Analysis" examines the relationship between economics and sociology. John S. Gibson in "The Economics of Politics, and Vice Versa" describes ways in which economics can be included in political science courses. Paul L. Ward in "Grafting Good Economics onto Basic History Courses" provides specific examples of the importance of economic events in history. Clark C. Bloom shows how economics is essential in the study of geography in "Economics and Geography." Benjamin Chinitz outlines the relatively new field of urban economics in "Urban Development: Key Economic Concepts." In the last article Nathan Glazer examines the general status of social studies in schools in "The Social Sciences in Liberal Education." Each article contains a select list of relevant suggested reading. (Author/DE)

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ECONOMICS IN HISTORY AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

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Preface

In 1971 the Joint Council on Economic Education initiated an analysis and evaluation of the treatment of economics in social studies textual materials being used in elementary and secondary schools. The Sears-Roebuck Foundation provided financial support for this project. Four committees were appointed to study the materials and prepare data for the reports, using guidelines suggested by the staff of the Joint Council. The Committee to Evaluate the Economics and the Teaching Strategies in Social Studies Textbooks, Elementary Grades (1-6), was chaired by Donald Davison of the Iowa Council on Economic Education. The group examining junior high school material (grades 7, 8 and 9) was led by George G. Watson, Jr., of Tufts University and the Winchester, Massachusetts, school system. James B. O'Neill of the University of Delaware chaired the Committee evaluating U.S. and world history textbooks at the senior high school level, while Dennis J. Weidenaar of Purdue University led the group studying other social studies textbooks at the high school level. Each committee was made up of individuals with vast experience in economic education and chaired by persons who serve as Directors of Councils or Centers for Economic Education. The Joint Council published four reports based upon these studies.*

Generally, the committees concluded that the social studies text materials of today are considerably better than those of a decade ago, but that there is still much room for improvement. The economics content was often found to be inadequate, and serious errors were frequently discovered in the treatment of the economic concepts the works did include.

In the last few years publishers have been under fire from many

* *Economics in Social Studies Textbooks*, 4 vols. (New York: Joint Council on Economic Education, 1973). Single reports are available for $1.50 apiece; the set of four may be obtained for $4.00.

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sources. Textbooks have been criticized for being inadequate or misleading in their treatment of black people, American Indians, Chicanos, women and many other groups. Too often, the criticisms have been almost entirely negative in tone. Reports attacking the text materials have been widely publicized, sometimes in a style reminiscent of "yellow journalism." The Joint Council decided upon a different approach in disseminating its findings. Of course, educators and the public at large would be made aware of the content of the committee reports. First, however, the Joint Council invited publishers to attend a one-day meeting at which they were apprised of the nature of the reports and were given the opportunity to react. The reports were not made generally available until after this meeting.

The next step was probably unprecedented and unique. The Joint Council offered to hold a seminar in which authors and publishers would be assisted in improving existing materials or developing new texts. A questionnaire was sent to publishers, asking whether or not they would participate and—if so—how many authors and editors they would like to send, what educational levels they would be interested in, and what kinds of materials and books they would want to have discussed. Again with a grant from the Sears-Roebuck Foundation, the Joint Council conducted the seminar.

The seminar began on January 7, 1974, and ended on January 10. Basically, there were three types of activities. Papers were presented by noted authorities in economics and other social sciences. The participants and resource persons met in groups reflecting different grade levels and topics, designed to enable the participants to discuss common problems and obtain general advice and information from the resource people present. Ample time was provided for authors, editors and publishers to meet on an informal basis with the resource people. In these individual meetings, the participants could obtain specific advice on revising existing textual materials or developing new publications.

Fortunately, it is possible to share some of the "output" of the conference with those who did not attend. It was believed that the papers presented would make a significant contribution to those people in the social studies concerned with the integration of the disciplines.

First, James D. Calderwood provides a framework of economic ideas and concepts. This is followed by Melvin Tumin's pithy discussion of the relationship between economics and sociology. John Gibson then describes ways in which economics can be included in political science courses. Paul Ward provides specific examples of the importance of economic events in history. Clark Bloom shows how economics is essential in the study of geography, and Benjamin Chinitz outlines the vital (and relatively new) field of urban economics. Finally, although it was not presented at the seminar, we are including a paper on the social sciences in liberal education by Nathan Glazer. Professor Glazer's discussion of the place of economics in the social sciences, and in a liberal education generally, is in keeping with the philosophy of the Joint Council and with the "tone" of the textbook seminar.

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The Joint Council has, since its inception, taken the position that economics can best be taught in schools as a dimension of many courses and this position is reflected in every phase of our program.

As a further service to the educators, authors, editors and publishers who will use this collection of papers, we have included lists of suggested readings. These are works which can provide the reader with more detailed information on the subjects covered in the papers but they do not necessarily reflect the opinions or philosophies of the authors of those papers or of the Joint Council on Economic Education. It is our hope that this publication will prove valuable to all who use it. As with all of its publications, the Joint Council welcomes comments or criticisms on this book, and invites readers to suggest other ways in which the Joint Council and its affiliates can be of further service.

M. I. FRANKEL, *President and Director*
Joint Council on Economic Education

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Biographical Data

DR. CLARK C. BLOOM, "Economics and Geography"

Dr. Clark Bloom is a Program Advisor with The Ford Foundation in New York. He specializes in the fields of economics and administration, with particular reference to the Middle East and Africa. He is the author of *How the American Economy is Organized* and many articles and reports on economics and related topics. Dr. Bloom did his undergraduate work at Drake University, and received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the State University of Iowa. He has been a professor at the State University of Iowa and a Director of the University's Bureau of Business and Economic Research. While serving as Advisor on Economic Planning to the Government of Jordan, Dr. Bloom was responsible for drafting Jordan's first formal economic development plan. He also helped to develop and evaluate technical assistance programs in other parts of the Middle East, and did similar work in the Philippines. Clark Bloom was Chairman of the University of Iowa's Committee on Regional Development and has been a consultant to a variety of business and community development agencies.

DR. JAMES D. CALDERWOOD, "Economic Ideas and Concepts"

Dr. James Calderwood is Joseph A. De Bell Professor of Business Economics and International Trade at the University of Southern California, and serves as the West Coast Representative for the Joint Council on Economic Education. He is co-author of *Economics in the Curriculum, Economics in Action, Introduction to Economic Reasoning,* and several other books. He has also written several pamphlets and teaching guides on economics and various economic topics. Dr. Calderwood was the "television teacher" in the series "Economics for the Concerned Citizen." He has been a staff member or visiting lecturer in many eco-

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nomic education workshops, an economic education consultant to numerous state departments of education and public school systems, a consultant to several major business firms, and an economist with government agencies. Dr. Calderwood has also served overseas as Economic Advisor to the President of Lebanon, as Consultant to the Iranian Ministry of Planning, and as consultant on economic education in the Philippines. He has made economic surveys for private businesses in Central America, Venezuela, Puerto Rico, Australia and New Zealand.

DR. BENJAMIN CHINITZ, "Urban Development: Key Economic Concepts"

Dr. Benjamin Chinitz is Professor of Economics and Urban Studies at Brown University. He completed his undergraduate work at Yeshiva University, received his A.M. degree from Brown, and his Ph.D. at Harvard. Dr. Chinitz has served as Chairman of the Economics Department at the University of Pittsburgh and at Brown University, as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Economic Development in Washington, as Chief of the Technical Mission to Romania on behalf of the United Nations Development Program, as consultant to the President's Council of Economic Advisors, as a member of President Johnson's Task Force on Transportation Policy, as Director of Research for President Kennedy's Appalachian Regional Commission, and as advisor to the Secretary of Transportation. On the state and local levels he has advised the Governor of Rhode Island, directed the Pittsburgh Regional Study, served as a staff member of the New York Metropolitan Regional Study, helped to develop a model for the Pittsburgh Department of City Planning, and has been a consultant to the Connecticut Development Commission and the State of Pennsylvania. Dr. Chinitz's principal publications include three books and over a dozen articles in scholarly journals. He has served in various advisory capacities with the RAND Corporation, the Urban Institute, the National Academy of Sciences, and The Brookings Institution.

DR. JOHN S. GIBSON, "The Economics of Politics, and Vice Versa"

Dr. John Gibson is Director of the Lincoln Filene Center and Professor of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Tufts University. He has also held a professorship in the Department of Education and has been Professor of Public Diplomacy at The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. Dr. Gibson received his B.A. degree at Oberlin College, his M.A. at Western Reserve University, and the Ph.D. degree at Columbia. John Gibson has been the author, co-author, or editor of ten books; he has written chapters in seven other books; and his articles have appeared in 19 professional journals. He has written research reports for the National Science Foundation and the U.S. Office of Education and has edited many of the Lincoln Filene Center's publications, including an extensive series of instructional programs for secondary school social studies. Dr. Gibson has been a consultant to international, Federal, state and local governmental and nongovernmental agencies, corporations and educa-

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tional institutions. He has been Chairman of the Task Force on Education, the Mayor's (Boston) Council on Regional Issues, and the Committee on the Urban University. He has been a member of the Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education, the Applied Research Panel of the U.S. Office of Education, the Committee to Study Boston High Schools, and many similar agencies.

DR. NATHAN GLAZER, "The Social Sciences in Liberal Education"

Dr. Nathan Glazer is Professor of Education and Social Structure at Harvard University and Co-editor of the *The Public Interest*. He has also taught at Bennington College, Smith College, and the University of California in Berkeley. In addition to writing regularly for *Commentary Magazine*, *The Public Interest*, and *The New York Times Magazine*, Professor Glazer is the author or co-author of several well-known books, including *The Lonely Crowd* (with David Riesman and Reuel Denney), *Faces in the Crowd* (with David Riesman), *Beyond the Melting Pot* (with Daniel P. Moynihan), *American Judaism*, and *The Social Basis of American Communism*. Dr. Glazer served on the staff of *Commentary Magazine* for nine years and has been an editor or editorial advisor to two major publishing firms. He held the position of Urban Sociologist with the Housing and Home Finance Agency in Washington, D.C., in 1962-63. His research, consultant work, and lecturing have taken him to such places as Japan, India, Korea, Malaysia, and Austria. Nathan Glazer did his undergraduate work at the City College of New York, received his A.M. degree at the University of Pennsylvania, and earned his Ph.D. at Columbia University. The LL.D. degree was conferred upon him by Franklin & Marshall College in 1971 and by Colby College in 1972. He has twice been the recipient of the Guggenheim Foundation Fellowship and has been nominated for the presidency of the American Sociological Association.

DR. MELVIN M. TUMIN, "The Role of Economics in Social Analysis"

Dr. Melvin Tumin is Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at Princeton University. He studied at the University of Newark, the University of Wisconsin and Northwestern University, receiving his Ph.D. degree from the latter institution. Dr. Tumin has written over a dozen books, as well as numerous articles and book reviews. He has been a consultant to the Curriculum Development Panel, the Regional Laboratory Advisory Panel, the U.S. Office of Education, the Agency for International Development, and similar agencies. He has also been Director of the Task Force on Individual Violence of the National Commission on Causes and Prevention of Violence, a member of a steering committee to evaluate Head Start Programs, the Committee on Health Care for the Urban Poor, a Visiting Research Sociologist for the Educational Testing Service, and a member of the Board of Trustees of Newark State College. Dr. Tumin serves on the editorial boards of *Social Education*, *The American Sociologist*, and *Social Problems*. Melvin Tumin has been a Senior Fellow of the Council of the Humanities, a Fulbright Senior

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Research Fellow in Norway and Italy, and a Guggenheim Foundation fellow.

DR. PAUL L. WARD, "Grafting Good Economics onto Basic History Courses"

Dr. Paul Ward is Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association. He received his A.B. degree from Amherst College, and was also awarded an LL.D. degree from that institution. His Ph.D. in history was completed at Harvard. Dr. Ward has taught at Harvard University, Russell Sage College, Colby College, Carnegie Institute of Technology, and Huachung University, Wuchang. From 1960 to 1965, Paul Ward was President of Sarah Lawrence College. He is the author of *Elements of Historical Thinking*, published in 1971, and co-editor of William Lambarde's *Archeion*. During World War II, Dr. Ward was a research technician with the OSS, and he continued to work with the State Department from 1945 to 1946. He has been with the American Historical Association since 1965.

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Economic Ideas and Concepts

James D. Calderwood

The Importance of Economic Education

I am highly honored to be asked to give the keynote address on the first day of this most important conference. It is an important conference because we are concerned, in a broad sense, with the education of young people for responsible economic citizenship and, given the complexity of the economic problems facing this nation today and in the years to come, I know of no more important issue in modern education than that.

We have in this country an economic system based primarily on the idea of individual decision-making in the marketplace. We also have a political system based on the idea of individual decision-making in the voting booth. If the decisions which individuals make in the marketplace and the voting booth are wise ones, stemming from a reasoned awareness of the nature of problems and of the choices confronting us, then we can hope to find some solutions to the complex economic issues which face us today. But, if the decisions people make in the marketplace and the voting booth are foolish ones, stemming from ignorance, prejudice and emotion, then we not only are not going to resolve our problems but they are going to get worse.

I would remind you that the economic decisions which people must make these days relate both to their own personal lives and goals and to society's problems and goals. People have to make decisions with respect to such personal matters as selecting a job, planning a savings and investment program, borrowing money, and drawing up a family budget.

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As they make these decisions, they must understand such things as interest rates, taxes, prices, and wage determination through collective bargaining. But, in our democratic society, people must also pass judgment on society's problems—on the energy crisis, inflation, poverty, urban problems, the federal budget, school-bond issues, and the economics of the environment, to mention only a few.

There is only one way in which we can achieve our goal of an economically literate citizenry capable of making decisions in the marketplace and the voting booth and that is by getting sound economics into the schools at all grade levels. If our future citizens do not acquire a knowledge of the economy in which they live while they are in school, most of them will never acquire it.

Preparing young people for responsible economic citizenship requires advances on several fronts and, of course, these advances are what the Joint Council on Economic Education is working to achieve.

One is in the field of teacher-training. We know that most social studies teachers in this country have received either inadequate training in economics or no training at all. Under the circumstances, obviously they cannot be expected to give their students proper instruction in the subject.

A second task confronting us is the revision of the curriculum—showing teachers how the right kind of economics can be introduced into the curriculum at different grade levels and into different subjects.

But a third task—and the one with which we are primarily concerned in this conference—is the preparation of material for use by both students and teachers. We need much more material that both contains sound economics and is written at a level that is appropriate to the reader's needs whether the reader be a teacher, a high school student or an elementary pupil.

The preparation of such material is, of course, the responsibility of both authors and publishers. But, if these two groups are to turn out the right kind of material—textbooks, pamphlets, filmstrips, teacher's guides, and so on—they must concern themselves with two related questions. The first is *how* economics should be presented to the students in our schools. The second is *what kind* of economics should be presented. The main purpose of this conference, as I understand it, is to discuss these two matters.

Basic Principles of Economic Education

My principal task this afternoon is to give you my thoughts on the basic economic ideas and concepts which should be taught in the schools. Before becoming specific on this point, however, I think it is important to spell out one or two basic principles of economic education as they have been developed over the years. Doing this will make the heart of what I want to say more meaningful.

The Integrated Curriculum

The first principle I want to emphasize is that economics needs to be

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introduced into the curriculum at all grade levels from kindergarten through the 12th grade in an organized, sequential way with what is taught in the lower grades leading logically to what is taught in the higher ones. In this integrated approach to economics in the curriculum, pupils in the elementary grades are introduced to basic ideas and concepts which become the foundation for a more sophisticated approach as they grow older. In the higher grades, there are countless opportunities for the introduction of economics into not only the social studies courses but also business education, home economics, English, mathematics, and other courses. The 12th-grade course then becomes a capstone experience that pulls everything together for the last time.

I would further add that the functioning of our economy can be approached from the viewpoint of the consumer, the businessman or the worker, as well as through the medium of various current problems such as inflation, the energy crisis or unemployment. To echo a statement once made to me by a Buddhist monk: "There are many roads to the summit but, when we get there, we all see the same moonlight."

Subsequent speakers in this conference will show you how economics can be introduced into such subjects as geography, history, sociology and political science. What I want to emphasize now is that publishers should not adopt a random approach to the production of material on economics but should have an overall understanding of the integrated curriculum, as I have defined it, and publish material which fits into this.

Finally, before leaving this point, I should emphasize that I am not proposing that all the ideas and concepts I am about to identify should be introduced at each grade level. The goal is to see that high school students are familiar with all of them by the time they graduate. But acquiring a knowledge of them must be a cumulative process during the thirteen years from kindergarten through 12th grade.

Economics as a Way of Thinking

The second principle I want to emphasize is that the primary goal of economic education is to teach students how to think objectively about economic problems, how to make intelligent choices among alternatives, and how to face up to the ever-present problem of trade-offs as we seek to achieve our various personal and social objectives.

The goal is *not* to fill up students with masses of facts, many of which in our rapidly changing world are likely to become obsolete rather quickly. Rather our goal should be to give them a "way of thinking" about economic problems in general—a way of thinking that will help them to understand not only today's economic problems but also future economic problems of which we are as yet unaware. Indeed, the real test of whether today's economic education is adequate is how those receiving it face up to tomorrow's problems. An obvious example of this is to be found in today's major domestic economic problem, the energy crisis, to which no-one as recently as five years ago gave any thought. Yet a student who, five years ago, learned about the role of markets and prices in allocating scarce resources would be intellectually equipped

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today to deal with the energy crisis in a rational way.

When I talk about developing a "way of thinking," I am, of course, using a nontechnical term. To put it in more technical language, I am saying that the goal of economic education should be to acquaint students with those basic ideas and concepts which collectively we call the tools of economic analysis. Obviously, these basic ideas and concepts should be related at any moment of time to the problems of the real world—for economic theory alone will turn off students fast, as unfortunately it has too often done in the past in our colleges. But the emphasis should be on providing students with those tools of analysis which can be used over the years in a wide variety of problem-solving situations.

To emphasize the importance of the point I have just made, let me remind you that we live in a world in which changes are taking place continuously and at an accelerating pace—changes in technology, in values and attitudes and priorities, in institutions, and in organizational approaches to problems. This means that we have to educate our young people to live in a world the dimensions of which we can only dimly see ourselves—if we can see them at all. This intensifies the importance of emphasizing basic analytical concepts in economics rather than just facts or current events.

Basic Economic Ideas and Concepts

I now turn to the heart of what I want to say this afternoon. Economists say, as I have just said, that they want young people to become economically literate citizens—to be able to make intelligent decisions in the marketplace and the voting booth. Educators logically respond to this by asking economists what it is specifically that we want them to teach. Publishers also logically ask us what it is that economists want them to publish. So economists have the responsibility of identifying for educators and publishers the basic economic ideas and concepts which should be the heart of the curriculum and the central themes of textbooks.

I shall first identify four major themes that are central to modern economics in the United States and then go on to discuss a number of more specific ideas and concepts that can be grouped together under each of these four headings. Please remember that, because of limited time, I am giving you a highly condensed version of the basic economic ideas and concepts. For a more detailed presentation, you may consult *Economics in the Curriculum.*[1] Please remember also that, again because of time limitations, I am not going to relate the basic ideas and concepts to current problems, policies and institutions although teachers will obviously do this in the classroom.

The four major themes are:

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[1] James D. Calderwood, John D. Lawrence and John E. Maher, *Economics in the Curriculum*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1970. (Revised reprint by Robert E. Krieger Publ. Co., Huntington, N.Y., 1973.)

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1. The central economic problem confronting all individuals and all societies.
2. The need for and the nature of economic systems.
3. The determinants of economic growth.
4. The determinants of the level of income, prices and employment.

The Central Economic Problem

What economists call "the central economic problem" is indeed fundamental because it is the starting-point for an understanding of everything else. Fortunately, the central economic problem is fairly simple to understand and indeed can easily be introduced into the early elementary grades.

The central economic problem is actually seven separate concepts each of which leads logically to the next and all of which together tell us what economics is all about. The seven concepts are:

1. Consumer wants for goods and services.
2. Production.
3. Productive resources.
4. Scarcity of productive resources relative to demand.
5. The need for choosing among alternatives or "economizing."
6. The personal and social goals which guide decision-making.
7. Opportunity cost.

Economics is that branch of the social sciences which is concerned with how people satisfy their wants for material goods and services. In order that consumers may satisfy their wants, goods and services must be produced. Production requires the utilization of productive resources—natural resources, human resources and capital goods. These productive resources are limited in supply—are "scarce" relative to the demand for them. This scarcity imposes on each individual and each society the need for making choices among alternatives. *What* goods and services shall be produced (and which not)? *How* and *where* shall goods and services be produced? *For whom* shall they be produced, i.e., how shall the national output be divided up among the poeple of the society? But decisions among alternatives are not made in a vacuum but rather with certain objectives or goals in mind. Thus economics is concerned with such goals as efficiency, growth, stability, security, justice and freedom, which determine the kinds of decisions people make. Finally, there is a cost involved in each decision. The "opportunity cost" of something is what an individual or a society has to give up in order to obtain that something. (For example, the "opportunity cost" of an ice cream cone to a child with 25¢ who also wants a comic book is giving up the comic book in order to have the cone. The opportunity cost of environmental controls over offshore oil-drilling is *not* having as much oil. The opportunity cost of putting productive resources into the Vietnam War was the goods we did not produce with the productive resources so used.)

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Economic Systems

The second major theme is the need for and the nature of economic systems. As just noted, since the basic fact of scarcity prevents people from satisfying all their wants, every society must find answers to the three questions: What? How and where? and For whom? To find these answers, every society needs some kind of an economic system. Economists use the term "economic system" to decribe the collection of customs, institutions, laws, procedures and organizational arrangements that together enable us to make decisions and answer the three questions—What, How and where, and For whom?

In economic theory, we can identify three types of economic system. One is a system in which all decisions are made by reference to tradition—that is to say, each generation inherits its decisions from its predecessor without question. A second is a system based on centralized decision-making—that is to say, one in which some authority at the top makes all the decisions which then flow down to the people who must obey them. The third kind of economic system is one based on decentralized decision-making—that is to say, one in which all the people of the society participate in making the key decisions regarding what, how and where, and for whom. In more technical language, this last type is known as the market system.

In fact, we know that real-life systems contain varying mixtures of all three of these ways of making decisions. Thus, the Soviet Union is primarily a centrally planned economy with a minimum role for the free market while the United States is primarily a market economy but with a substantial and growing public sector where the government makes decisions. In such less-developed countries as Nepal, Afghanistan and Upper Volta, the role of tradition in decision-making is still very strong even though the market element is growing in importance.

Of course, we hope that students by the time they graduate from high school will have learned something about other economic systems in the world that differ from our own and there are many opportunities in the curriculum, particularly in world history courses, for them to acquire such knowledge. But obviously, the major emphasis in instruction will be on the economic system we have in the United States today.

There are several basic economic ideas and concepts we can use to understand the structure of the American economy. The main ones are:

1. Specialization, exchange, money and interdependence.
2. Private enterprise, profits and competition.
3. Markets and prices, supply and demand, and how they allocate resources (determine "what," "how and where," and "for whom.")
4. The economic role of government in promoting goals.
5. Imperfections in the market mechanism.

We live in an economy characterized by a high degree of individual, business and regional specialization in production. This means we have an "exchange" economy in which goods and services are traded in markets. To avoid the inconveniences of barter, money is used as a medium

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of exchange. As a result of all this, we are all interdependent.

The bulk of production in the United States is carried out by privately owned firms who are competing with one another for the consumers' "spending money" and are motivated by the desire to make profits. In our economy, buyers and sellers of goods and services (consumers, producers, workers, savers, investors, etc.) are registering their freely made decisions in markets. These decisions "add up" to the aggregate forces of demand and supply which together determine the prices of goods and services. These prices in turn serve as the regulators of economic activity, indicating to us how we should spend our money, what we should produce, where we should work, where we should invest our savings, how much each of us will earn, and so on.

It is important that students not be left with the impression that we have a pure "free enterprise system," however. In fact, not all decisions are made in the free marketplace. An important number of them are now made in the "public sector" by federal, state and local governments. Government is "in business," employing millions of people and producing and distributing many goods and services, including education, national defense, electric power, health, etc. Government also regulates many markets in order to protect the public and promote the goals of justice and security (e.g., minimum wage laws, social security, Medicare, farm price supports, consumer protection laws, building codes, zoning regulations, etc.). Finally, government influences the whole economy by means of monetary and fiscal policy in order to promote the goals of growth and stability.

Finally, our market economy is not only modified by government intervention but also by the existence of private power. Large institutions such as big business organizations and big labor unions are in many cases able to control or influence markets and prices and thus determine in part what shall be produced, how and where, and for whom.

Economic Growth

The third major theme is that of economic growth. In simple language, economic growth is the process of increasing the production of goods and services over the years so that we can have more, i.e., raise our living standards. Economic growth is an almost universal goal, shared by the citizens of the United States, the Soviet Union, the European Common Market, and the less-developed nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America, among others.

What we want students to know is how economic growth takes place, why some economies grow faster than others, and why some economies, such as our own, grow rapidly at certain times and only slowly or even not at all at other times. For example, why have the U.S., Japan, Germany and the Soviet Union historically enjoyed rapid growth while the growth rates of Bolivia, India and Nigeria have been inadequate? Why did the economy of the U.S. grow rapidly in the early 1960's and in 1972-73, but only slowly in the late 1950's and not at all in the early 1930's and in 1970? If students can learn the answers to these questions,

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they will then have the tools for understanding many current and future problems.

The three basic ideas here are:

1. The supply of inputs.
2. The demand for output.
3. The politicosocioeconomic environment of growth.

The "inputs" which go into production are the basic productive resources—natural resources, human resources and capital goods. Our ability to increase the output of goods and services depends on the quantity of productive resources available to us and on the efficiency with which we use them—that is, on *productivity*. Productivity is in turn a function of such things as education, research and development, advancing technology, and the economies of scale. The supply of inputs sets the upper limit to an economy's growth.

In a private enterprise, profit-oriented economy the demand for output will determine the actual rate of growth—within the limits set on the supply side. *Aggregate demand* is the total spending of consumers, business, government and foreigners on the goods and services produced. If aggregate demand is too low, then some of what is produced will not be sold and the profit incentive to expand production will be reduced. It was inadequate demand which was responsible for the "slow growth" periods of the late 1950's and 1970 in the U.S. In the past, it has been inadequate demand which has periodically slowed down the growth of advanced industrial nations whereas it has been an inadequate supply of inputs and low productivity which have curbed growth in the less-developed countries. Today, however, we see U.S. growth threatened for the first time by a shortage of a crucial input—energy.

The politicosocioeconomic environment is the collection of political, social and economic forces which together create either a favorable or an unfavorable environment for growth. These include political stability or instability, literacy or illiteracy among the population, the value systems of a people, including their attitude toward work and saving, and other factors.

The above-mentioned way of thinking about growth can be used to understand the growth of a community, a state, the United States as a whole, or of a foreign country.

The Determinants of the Level of Income, Prices and Employment

One of the central concerns of people in the noncommunist world is why, in modern capitalist economies, we sometimes have prosperity and sometimes recessions, sometimes stable prices and sometimes—as today—inflation, and sometimes full employment and sometimes excessive unemployment. What can be done to give us a more stable economy or, as economists say, high levels of income and employment without inflation?

The basic concept here is the one I mentioned earlier—*aggregate*

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demand or the total spending of consumers, business, government and foreigners. If aggregate demand is too low, then we have a recession or even a depression. If it is too high—that is, if the four groups of spenders are trying to spend more than the economy is capable of producing at full employment—then we have inflation. The policy implication of this is that we should try to manage demand. We try to do this through *monetary policy*, which is the policy of the Federal Reserve System toward the supply and cost of money, and through *fiscal policy*, which is the government's efforts to influence demand through the federal budget. Thus, aggregate demand, monetary policy and fiscal policy are the three keys to understanding changes in the level of income, prices and employment.

Conclusions

Before finishing, I would like to make two concluding points. The first is that I have identified only the basic economic ideas and concepts and, for reasons of time, only in a most condensed way. You may have wondered, for example, why I have made no mention of international economic problems which are of such enormous importance to the U.S. today and which happen to constitute my own professional field of specialization. This is because international economic issues can be understood through the medium of concepts I have already discussed. International trade, for example, can be understood through the medium of specialization, markets and prices. International investment and the problems of less-developed countries can be understood through the medium of the growth process. The economy of the Soviet Union can be understood by utilizing the concepts I discussed in connection with economic systems in general. Teachers and textbook writers will want to discuss these matters and many other current problems and policies. All can be understood, I think, within the framework of analysis I have presented to you.

My second concluding point is that I h[illegible] talking about what needs to be done over a 13-year period from kindergarten through 12th grade. I mention this again lest you think I have been urging you to devote too much time in the curriculum to economics.

Let me close by once again emphasizing the enormous importance of the task which we in economic education are undertaking. Two years from now it will be 1976 and we will be observing the 200th anniversary of two great men and events—Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, which spelled out with crystal clarity the basic principles of individual political freedom, and Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, which spelled out the basic principles of economic freedom. In fact, we will be observing the 200th anniversary of our commitment as a nation to the idea that the people can make their own decisions and solve their problems through wise decisions in the marketplace and the voting booth. In 1976, today's tenth graders will be forming families, making economic decisions in the marketplace, and voting in the elections of

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that year. Only four years later that, in 1980, today's sixth graders will be making economic decisions and voting. And if that isn't a sobering thought, I don't know what is!

*Suggestions for Further Reading and Reference**

For a more detailed discussion of the major points made by Dr. Calderwood, see the following publications which are available from the Joint Council on Economic Education, 1212 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10036.

James D. Calderwood, John D. Lawrence and John E. Maher, *Economics in the Curriculum: Developmental Economic Education Program*. 1973. 141pp. Checklist No. 134. Price: $2.00.

DEEP 1969: Perspectives on a Five-Year Experiment in Curriculum Change. 1969. 112pp. Checklist No. 118. Price: $3.50.

Economic Education in the Schools. Report of the National Task Force on Economic Education. 1961. 78pp. Checklist No. 10. Price: $1.50.

Suggestions for introducing economics into the school curriculum in general and for supplementary materials to consider can be found in the following Joint Council publications:

Handbook for Curriculum Change: Guidelines. 1969. 32pp. Checklist No. 116. Price: $2.00.

Handbook for Curriculum Change: Appendices. 1971. Checklist No. 143. Price: $15.00.

Audiovisual Materials for Teaching Economics. 1972. 56pp. Checklist No. 181. Price: $1.75.

Games and Simulations for Teaching Economics. 1974. 130pp. Checklist No. 205 Price: $3.00.

Study Materials for Economic Education in the Schools. 1969. 70pp. Checklist No. 112. Price: $1.50.

Several publications on the Joint Council's Checklist provide very specific suggestions for including economics in the curriculum at various grade levels. For the elementary level the following are available:

The Child's World of Choices. 1968. 186pp. Checklist No. 129. Price: $3.00.

* These suggestions are prepared by members of the Joint Council staff.

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Economics and Our Community: A Resource Unit for Grades 4, 5 and 6. 1973. 26pp. Checklist No. 185. Price: $1.50.

Learning Economics Through Children's Stories: A Bibliographic Reference. 1973. 56pp. Checklist No. 115. Price: $1.75.

Teachers Guide to Economics, Grade 1. 1968. 64pp. Checklist No. 101. Price: $2.00. (Also available at the same price for Grades 2, 3, 4 and 5. Checklist numbers 102 through 105, respectively.)

Secondary level materials are as follows:

Economic Education for Washington Schools, Grades Seven, Eight and Nine. 1967. 59pp. Checklist No. 37. Price: $1.75.

Economics in the Business Curriculum. 1972. 94pp. Checklist No. 157. Price: $2.50

Suggested Procedures and Resources for a Minimum Course in Economics. 1962. 39pp. Checklist No. 54. Price: $1.25.

Teachers Guide to Economics, Grade 8. 1968. 126pp. Checklist No. 108. Price: $2.00.

Teaching a Course in Personal Economics. 1971. 69pp. Checklist No. 127. Price: $2.50.

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The Role of Economics in Social Analysis

Melvin M. Tumin

Since I am not very knowledgeable at all about the content of most social studies books at any grade level, and because no one could accuse me of being a specialist in economic thought, it might well be wondered why I have been asked to speak here today on the places in the study of social behavior where economic concepts and ideas might fruitfully be introduced. I assure you I do not intend to use the hackneyed ploy of claiming that my pristine ignorance is a source of imaginative thought, unharried and unimpeded by hard facts. So I must confess I am going to be at least partly unfaithful to the charge given me. I shall talk mainly on a marginally related topic but one which I hope will be commensurately useful to you, as people involved in school social studies and publications, and which may also be sufficiently relevant, in Moe Frankel's eyes, so that when he comes to do a cost-benefit analysis of my appearance here, he may not feel terribly over-costed and under-benefited.

What I propose to do is to speak about a series of missions that social studies in the schools should, in my judgment, be seeking to accomplish, and I will try to indicate where and how various sets of concepts, including economic concepts, but not exclusively so, can usefully be employed to accomplish those social missions.

I ought first to indicate my values and biases on a number of educational issues which relate to the problem in front of us. First of all, I do not believe that departments or disciplines or traditional subject matters are proper categories for organizing a curriculum, certainly not in secondary school and not even in liberal arts higher education. The only

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proper place in my judgment for specialized study of a discipline per se is at research institutes, on the one hand, and in the preparation of research scholars and teachers in professional schools, on the other. I mean to say that if I had my options, I would most surely try to eliminate departments and disciplines and majors in liberal arts colleges as they are now constituted, abolishing sociology, psychology, economics, history, the lot. I would, however, want people who have been trained in those disciplines to be on the faculty. But their service to the undergraduate students would be in joint efforts, with other persons from other disciplines. (Dare I use the beat-up word "interdisciplinary" here?) The undergraduate courses would be organized along *thematic* lines, that is, major problems and issues of yesterday, today and tomorrow, studied in their sociological, economic, psychological, philosophical, moral, humanistic and political aspects.

I am not fazed at all by the concern that this will lead to a smattering of knowledge about many things and no deep knowledge about any one of them. I have dealt too many years with the so-called best students from the best schools with their "deep" undergraduate majors in sociology and allied topics, and while I find them often very bright and very earnest, I also find many of them all too often profoundly ignorant, narrow, parochial, uncultured, and pretentiously professional, sometimes beyond redemption.

Moreover, I have found these things to be even more true, and hence more desperate a fact, about many college professors as well. For instance, I know some brilliant physicists who while clearly post-Einsteinian in their physics, are unmistakably pre-Freudian in their psychology, in their sociology, pre-Nietzchean in their philosophy; pre-Joycean in literature; and pre-Adam Smith in their economics. Well, that's unfair. Many of them come close to being full-pledged Smithians in economics.

All that aside, the crucial thing here and now is the point about the importance of general education, through the B.A. degree, and, depending on what happens to the functional meaning of that degree in the future, perhaps beyond that as well. You are all so familiar with the many booby traps that those two words "general education" can conceal that I need not go into that mine field now. I will simply assume that we commonly understand the distinction between general liberal arts education, and that which might, by contrast, be called preprofessional training, such as is implied by courses offered on the presumption that they are requirements for some professional or semiprofessional degree or certification.

It is obvious then that if I prefer general education beyond the 12th year, I must prefer it with *double* force for studies up to the 12th year, and I do. Though I have myself collaborated with various programs for the development of secondary school studies in sociology, I find the whole enterprise in principle both distasteful and dysfunctional. If you ask me, then, why I participated in writing various units for the sociology sections of the curriculum, it was for two reasons. One was that if there was to be sociology, I wanted to have a hand in making it as good as I

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could. Secondly, I was able to work on a topic, or theme, called "Race and Class in the United States" which far transcended the limits of sociology and included economic, political, historical, literary, psychological and other aspects of the total reality of race and class. For me, at least, those large problems of race relations and of social and economic class structures are examples of the kind of organizing thematic frameworks within which some very important principles of social organization and conduct can be taught and which do not have to respect the artificial structures of professional disciplinary boundaries.

The publications of the Joint Council which you have already seen, particularly the one on the economics of poverty and another on the economics of crime, are good illustrations of the same broad-ranging problem areas to which one can address oneself in ways that are interesting to the students, apposite to the day's pressing affairs, and open to relevant materials from a number of disciplines. If, for instance, cost-benefit analysis is one of the main perspectives that economics would like to introduce into the discussion of social affairs, both those topics (Crime and Poverty) and the overlapping themes of race and class relations, permit such cost-benefit analysis to be introduced in rather effective ways. For there is a range of costs and benefits that any decent discussion of those topics has to bring to bear, including psychological, social, political, moral and aesthetic considerations. By introducing these, and by showing the difficulty of weighing them one against the other, one can bring home to students and to teachers alike the crucial theme of the complexity and multifaceted nature of human affairs, and the difficulty of formulating policy regarding any problems such as crime, or poverty, or race relations, or social and economic inequality in general.

That is the mission which I said earlier I would like to see accomplished in social science training at high school and college levels: an appreciation of the complexity of human affairs and the multifaceted motives, values and institutional forces that shape those affairs; the interplay of economic, political, social, psychological, religious, aesthetic and other considerations; the difficulties involved in, and the methods best adapted to, discovering the various levels and kinds of truths about social behavior that need to be perceived.

I say that I believe this to be the central mission, well aware of the fact that it is eminently possible to make too much of the complexity. But of the two possible errors, making too much of the complexity or too little of it, I far prefer to start with the former error and then correct down for simplification where needed, because it seems almost impossible, or at least I have found it so, to correct up from a base line of thoughtless oversimplification to the appropriate level of complexity. We may, to be sure, be cursed by people like myself who are always reminding others that matters are far more complex than they seem, even to writers on *The New York Times* Op-Ed page. But surely on the cosmic scale we are more painfully cursed by the Archie Bunker type of oversimplification that dominates most thinking about social behavior from the White House up to the ethologists and finally to Archie himself.

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(I hope no one here will be so ungracious as to remind me that it is not absolutely necessary or unavoidable that we choose one of these errors over the other and that we could have some nice, balanced mean position between the two.)

If this is the central mission of social studies teaching and publishing, it next becomes appropriate to ask where economics fits into the method of dealing with that complexity. I would put this in terms of two major contributions economics can make. One is to provide a technology for translating certain factors of social life into money costs so that competing sets of costs and benefits can be assessed against each other in order to get a net balance of sorts. The other is to provide a set of concepts that are generally useful for thinking about affairs, even when and if no translation into money units has been made or seems possible.

I will explore each of these in turn. But first I must say that there are no such things as economic costs per se. Rather, economic costs, expressed in money terms, can always be shown to be money equivalents, attached—accurately or otherwise—to social, psychological, aesthetic and other values. Simply put, money has no value per se. Rather, its value lies in what it enables us to procure among a range of desired goods and services. It is these goods and services that are valuable to us, and the money equivalents attached to them are simply ways of expressing those values on a common scale or in terms of a common unit. Silly as this may sound to all of us who feel overworked and underpaid, the fact remains that all economic transactions are made with noneconomic ends in view, including the amassment of wealth, which is always seen, with one exception, as assuring the ability to secure property, power, prestige and other things contributing to the enjoyment of life.

The one exception, of course, is the case of the pathological miser, for whom the fondling of money, the viewing of it and the luxuriating in its presence are apparent end values in themselves. But even here one must be mindful of the fact that in Freudian symbolism money is interchangeable with gifts, love, babies and feces. So we cannot be sure what the miser is up to or in to.

Anyway, except for the miser, money is always valued instrumentally. The point of remembering this is that it reminds us always to ask, regarding any enterprise, not how much the enterprise may cost, but always rather what are we gaining in valued things relative to other possible things we might secure, or other possible values we might realize, at the same monetary cost.

If, now, money equivalents can be attached to competing values, e.g., the cost of more policemen on the streets and more prisons vs. more probation and better trained parole officers, it then may become possible to make a somewhat more precise assessment than we otherwise could of certain aspects of the competition of alternative values. At least one can think a little more clearly about how much preference one may wish to give to one set of alternatives as against the other. If I know that more policemen will cost me X amount of money, and more parole officers will cost $3X$, assuming, for the moment, that they will both produce roughly the same results, then I can say that, as far as actual money costs

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are concerned, the police alternative seems preferable. But if someone then correctly reminds me that these alternatives are not without other consequences, such as the climate of repression that might ensue from putting more policemen on the street, I am unavoidably plunged into a more complex set of calculations regarding webs and networks of competing values, for many of which no money equivalents can be constructed. Can we answer the question as to how much political repression we are willing to put up with for a saving of X numbers of dollars? Or alternatively, how much is the feeling of freedom from fear of mugging worth in tax dollars? You can pretend that such a measurement can be gotten by letting the citizen vote at the next election for candidates with different programs of crime prevention. But at that point all the precision of econometrics has gone out the window. Yet, insofar as putting money equivalents on to social and political values may sharpen up some of the variables and their calculations, one surely ought to use this approach.

The more promising possibilities that economics provides the social studies has to do with the repertoires of concepts and models of thinking about societal affairs that it has employed in its limited way with monetarily expressed value equivalents. I think here, particularly, of the way in which such terms as scarce resources, cost-benefit analysis, marginal utility, supply and demand, optimization, diminishing returns, inventory, investment, social accounting, accountability, trade-off, and a number of other basic terms that were first or most often used in economics, have crept into the language of other social and psychological sciences.

When these economistic terms are used in realms where money equivalents cannot be established without too much loss of the meaning of the phenomena (e.g., justice, grace, salvation), we encounter a most interesting fact, namely, that they serve mainly and well to highlight the noncomparability and noncommonness of the competing values at stake. Thus, when I must choose between spending time and energy with my children, or having fun with my wife, as against attending to professional duties, in which other of my obligations are deeply lodged, and in which other desires, such as for fame and distinction, might be achieved, I simply have no common scale on which to weigh one against the other. No money equivalents serve here at all. Yet I am thinking in terms of trade-offs, and cost-benefits, and optimization, and the like. But what I discover, as I have said, is that there is no common scale of felicity, no common denominator of need or gratification, no master calculus or arithmetic of any sort that would be useful to make my calculation more precise.

It is in situations such as these (and they can be generalized to average situations of groups of people and thus not be simply idiosyncratic individual expressions) that formal economic considerations *are* least useful and applicable, while at the same time, the general economic *style of thinking* is indispensable, at least where rational bargaining among alternative courses of action is concerned.

The point here is that the economistic style of thinking, as against

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formal economic analysis, has deeply penetrated social science thinking, including moral philosophy, and has done so not simply because of the prestige of hard economics, but because *the model of rational thought and judgment among alternatives, with their respective sets of costs and benefits, is a general model*, used most fluently by economists, but available as a general model in all other fields of human discourse and inquiry as well. So, the formal shop talk of economists is found in many noneconomic realms because it happens to be the formal shop talk of rational calculation among costs and benefits of alternatives. Once that is acknowledged, then there should be no question about the places where economistic thinking can be fruitfully applied. It can be applied everywhere that sensible rationality is itself useful.

To say that, however, is not to suggest that it ought to be assumed, on principle, that we should go on to search for a common denominator in which numerous human values can be expressed on a common scale on which they can be weighed. It probably is a better hypothesis that there are analytically separate areas of human activity, each with its own language, not translatable into each other, not expressible in each others' terms, and hence not really comparable. Think of the vocabularies and grammars of religion, art and music criticism, science, and emotional relationships. And think of the values imbedded in those languages and expressed by them, and of the languages created to deal with and even to constitute those realms of human experience. Consider, for example, a debate between a father and a son regarding the son's utterly unaesthetic and aesthetically revolting appearance, as seen by the father, and his bitter feelings that he is being deliberately savaged by his son in that realm of values, as against the son's values on independence, his joyful pretense at indifference to appearance, etc. How does one ever bargain those disparate values? How much aesthetic revulsion is equal to how much high-spirited independence?

This may seem like a trivial problem or a trivial example. Consider it, though, on a large scale. Consider the contest between the values expressed by environmentalists: the value of open space, of unrammeled wilderness, of undeveloped seashores. Contrast these with land developers' values on housing, oil supplies, resorts and tourism, and consider all the values contained in those two quite disparate nexi of languages, meaning and concerns. The events of the current day illustrate quite clearly that the bargaining, such as there is, between these competing values, is not rationally calculated on a common scale. Rather it is almost wholly determined by political forces favoring one set of values to some degree over some other degree of the other.

The irreconcilability and noncomparability of these disparate sets of values, except through a political bargaining process, is a fundamental fact about social behavior and social organization. To teach it requires that the competing sets of values be revealed, the noncomparability be disclosed, and the political resolution process be understood, while the model of trade-off is to be applied in all its richness. Wherever formal economic analysis might clarify an issue, as it can at several junctures,

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it should certainly be brought to bear. But it should not be thought that the discussion has been any less precise than it could be simply because most of the values involved cannot be expressed in common value term such as monetary equivalents.

There emerges from this kind of discussion another basic theme about social behavior that requires continuing exploration and clarification in secondary school social studies. It is really a twofold notion. The first fold involves the realization that in societies such as this one there are numerous competing sets of interests that seek to be realized out of common and scarce resources of land, money, energy, time, concern and enthusiasm. It follows, then, that any policy decision that favors one set of interests, and calls for the utilization of the scarce resources for the implementation of those interests, is going to be negative, to that extent, for competing interests.

This is simple enough, of course, when stated this way. But the ensuing implication is more often fudged than brought out, as far as I can determine. The implication of which I speak is that political struggle is the essence of interaction among social interests competing for scarce resources, and that the model of competition thus becomes a crucial matter. It is here of course, that the idea of the democratic social order and polity, and the rules of democratic competition, freedom and obligation become crucial. But all too often that democratic model is portrayed as one that produces mutually acceptable compromises, when in fact it more often produces mutually unacceptable compromises that leave both sides embittered. More important still, a high degree of political energetic activism is indispensable to even the partial realization of one's interests in a pluralistic society such as this. That is the second part of the twofold idea: the idea, in short, that a conflict model of democracy must be seen as applicable just as often, if not more often, to democratic polity as the traditional model of sweetness, light and equilibrium. The naturalness of conflict, I am saying, is a general feature of organized social life in a diverse society.

The more general point still is that all actions are likely to have both positive and negative consequences, or eufunctions and dysfunctions, as my professional jargon calls them. Therefore, the meaning and significance of any social action is to be estimated by summing up, somehow, by an as yet unavailable calculus, the positive and negative functions into one overall sum or product, so that the wisdom of the action can be judged, which, of course, it cannot. To illustrate the difficulties here: How much would you say it is worth while to use scarce school resources to try to provide to the bottom ten percent of the school population a sense of their worthiness? Suppose this requires a significant subtraction of the schools' time and attention and other resources from the education of the top ten percent? Is it worth it? And mind you, here we are dealing with somewhat commensurate values that might be able to be expressed, at least in part, in some standard scores.

How effective is a school which chooses the first option as against one which goes exactly the other way and concentrates its resources on

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its so-called best students? Without some prior agreement on the criteria and measurement of "effectiveness" no answer is conceivable, outside of that yielded by political struggle. And if we seek for some agreed-upon measure of effectiveness beforehand, we will discover that the very question of the pro and con of the two interest groups is at stake; namely, whose interests ought to be served at what cost to other interests?

Even if all the resources involved could be expressed in monetary terms, as perhaps most of them could, the crucial problem at the heart of the matter would remain untouched by that translation. The points then are, first, the inescapable conflict of positive and negative functions in resource-allocation in any situation of scarce resources, and, of course, most important situations involve scarcity; and, second, the impossibility of a rational evidential proof of what is the best course of action. You can do all the cost-benefit analysis you want to, but unless you have a prior scale of weighting costs against benefits on an agreed-upon master common unit, you are unavoidably left with the need for concerned, informed but unavoidably imprecise judgment and political action upon that judgment.

Another interesting example of noncomparable trade-off has to do with the transfer of property by the mechanism of theft. First it should be recognized that there is no loss to the society at large from theft, especially not of theft of consumer goods, not even if you include costs of insurance and all those derivations of theft. For the simple fact is that in theft the only thing that happens is that property gets transferred. The net sum of property is exactly the same as before. It just happens to be in different hands. Morever, there is some decent reason to believe that theft juices up the economy in a number of ways, particularly because of the fact that stolen consumer goods tend to get turned over more often than legally purchased goods, and hence generate profits for more people along the route to final consumption. Morever, since stolen goods tend to be sold at cheaper prices than regular goods, there is a measurable benefit to the consumers of hot goods, as well as to the thieves. Against that, measure the loss for the individual from whom the goods were stolen. Assume he is uninsured. So the outcome is bad for him, but good for the thief and the consumers who purchased the hot goods. It may also be incidentally good for the insurance company and for the adjustors and clerks who are thereby kept employed; and it may be good, comparably, for the police, prosecutors, court clerks, sheriffs, judges and all others involved in the administration of criminal justice, not excluding prison architects, wardens, turnkeys, and associated personnel. So how dysfunctional is theft? We then start introducing other values such as feelings of safety, freedom from the necessity for eternal vigilance, mutual trust, and the like. Those would presumably be enhanced in a condition of lowered theft rates. On balance, are they worth it, compared to the benign outcomes of theft?

That sounds like a wise guy example and it is, because I obviously prefer the nontheft situation to the other. But one can't ignore the fact that my preferences are other people's anathemas, and vice versa. And

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there is no way, rationally, to make peace between us, nor resolve with evidence our value contradictions.

We see in these mixed outcomes of eufunctions and dysfunctions, as competing interests are served variably well and poorly, a reiteration of the crucial theme regarding the presence of numerous factors in the causation of social organization and behavior. "Man does not live by bread alone" is a well-beaten homily, but it has a strong center of truth. The fact is that humans do pursue political, religious, prestigious, aesthetic, moral and economic ends, among others. And they often pursue these simultaneously. Perhaps more important is the fact that these multiplicities of individual motives become multiplicities of group motives and behavior as well, so that the analysis of social events has to take cognizance of the interplay of multiple factors in the production of social outcomes.

I can conclude now, and perhaps be a little more faithful to my original charge, by suggesting a framework of four basic sociological concepts with which most social behavior can be analyzed and which reveal the strategic places at which economistic-type thinking unavoidably enters into social analysis. These concepts are (1) identity—such as sex, age, religion and nationality; (2) role, i.e., all the structured sets of obligations and rights that accrue to us by virtue of the statuses we occupy, such as mother or father, husband or wife, child or parent, employer or employee; (3) values, or our concepts of the good life, or those portions of it which we seek to realize, given our identities and their meanings, and our roles and their import; and (4) resources, or the sum of the property, power and prestige we command and that enables us to realize our values, even against the opposition of others.

You can see immediately the ways in which economistic formulations regarding trade-offs, optimization, competition of values, allocation of scarce resources and related ideas are indispensable to thinking clearly, even if imprecisely, about these matters. Since most thinking about social affairs is both unclear and imprecise, it would constitute a significant gain indeed if we were able at least to reduce some of the lack of clarity, even if we did not increase the precision at all. In sum, one doesn't have to pay the cost of an embrace by the ogre of Economic Man to benefit from the sustenance that both formal economics and general economistic thinking can yield.

*Suggestions for Further Reading and Reference**

In his paper, Professor Tumin dealt with economics and sociology in a general sense. There are few publications that do this, but there are

* These suggestions are prepared by members of the Joint Council staff.

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many which either relate economic concepts and analysis to social problems or—with a different emphasis—discuss the sociological implications of economic issues and policies. Several of the Joint Council's publications can be used to give students a better knowledge of crime, poverty, racial discrimination and unemployment. These are as follows:

Joseph G. Metz, *The Economics of Crime*. 1971. 18pp. Checklist No. 138. Price: $1.00. Accompanying filmstrip with record or cassette (Checklist No. 167) available for $14.50 or $16.50 (cassette).

The Economics of Poverty. 1968. 62pp. Checklist No. 99. Price $2.00. (For junior high school pupils.) *Teacher's Manual* of 25 pages (Checklist No. 100) available for $1.25.

Lester C. Thurow, *The Economics of Poverty and Racial Discrimination*. 1972. 22pp. Checklist No. 147. Price: $1.25 for single copy with "Teach About" section. Accompanying filmstrip with record or cassette (Checklist No. 165) available for $14.50 or $16.50 (cassette).

Sar Levitan and Robert Taggart, *The Economics of Youth Unemployment*. 1973. 18pp. Checklist No. 163. Price: $1.25 for single copy with "Teach About" section. Classroom sets of 30 (Checklist No. 163a) available for $11.00.

The following list is a sample of the publications which teachers and students can use to learn more about economics and specific social problems or conditions.

Henry J. Aaron, *Why is Welfare So Hard to Reform?* Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1973. $1.95 (paperbound).

David L. Bender, editor, *Liberals and Conservatives: A Debate on the Welfare State*. Anoka, Minn.: Greenhaven Press, 1971. $1.95 (paperbound) (Secondary level.)

Robert Bennett and Thomas Newman, *Poverty and Welfare*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969. $1.60 (paperbound). (Secondary level.)

Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., *Toward a Theory of Minority-Group Relations*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967. $9.50. (Includes socioeconomic factors.)

Harry C. Bredemeier and Jackson Toby, Editors, *Social Problems in America: Costs and Casualties of an Acquisitive Society*, 2nd ed. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1972. $6.95(paperbound).

Michael Brennan, Philip Taft and Mark Schupack, *The Economics of Age*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1967. $7.50.

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The Economics of Politics, and Vice Versa

John S. Gibson

Last September, my good friend and colleague, Moe Frankel, called to ask me to give at this conference a paper on how economic concepts might best be related to political science instruction and instructional resources in the schools. Because no one says *No* to Moe, I naturally responded in the affirmative. Developing my remarks for today has been a genuine educational experience for me and has done much to reinforce my conviction that we all have far to go in advancing interdisciplinary approaches to social studies education.

In my opinion, one of the finest practitioners of my profession of political science is Professor David Easton of the University of Chicago. In discussing the social sciences and social interactions in his excellent work, *Framework for Political Analysis* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1965, p. 50), Easton turns to political interactions and points out that "what distinguishes political interactions from all other kinds of social interactions is that they are predominantly oriented toward the authoritative allocation of values for a society."

The main thesis of my paper is that economic concepts can best be introduced into political science instruction and instructional resources if we relate them to what Professor Easton calls the authoritative allocation of values for a society. It is public policy—national, state, regional and local—that performs these regulative and allocative functions, and thus our mission is to show how economic concepts are implicitly and explicitly ingrained in public policy.

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Toward this end, the concepts most essential are power, process, decision-making, authoritative regulation and allocation, planning, a mixed market, and responsibility—personal, institutional and societal. Before turning to the interaction of these concepts and political science, I should like to relate political science to the social studies curriculum, suggest a futuristic thrust for social studies education, outline recommendations for a performance-based curriculum, and present a conceptual framework for advancing student knowledge, value clarification, and performance in the many interactions between economics and political science.

Economic concepts in the domain of political science in the broader social studies curriculum of schools can be approached from many points of view. The initial studies by the Joint Council on Economic Education presented in *Economics in Social Studies Textbooks* give us an excellent picture of where economic concepts do or do not appear in such courses of study as civics and government at the junior-high level, and government and problems of democracy at the secondary level. The authors of these monographs point to some very capable handling of economic concepts in these traditional "political science" courses, and reveal some serious shortcomings as well. Their reports and recommendations should be earnestly considered by publishers and authors as important guidelines toward the improving of economic education in the schools.

Perhaps the best text in relating my discipline of political science to the social studies curriculum is Riddle and Cleary's *Political Science in the Social Studies* (Washington, D.C.: 36th Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies, 1966). Each of the 21 chapters of this book focuses on some aspect of political science in the schools, and the data provided by James Quillen in his chapter, "Government Oriented Courses in the Secondary School," underline the fact that political science is a very prominent part of the secondary school curriculum, especially in the courses in civics, United States government, and problems of democracy.

Political science is much more aggressive in the curriculum than we realize. At the elementary level, students usually examine many facets of the town or city in the third grade, the state or region in the fourth, and American history in the fifth grade. That latter course is much more political science than history, because it generally is a political history of the United States. Often there is an introduction to comparative styles of governing in the sixth grade, if students explore other continents or nations. Aside from the standard civics, government, and problems courses in junior and senior high, secondary courses in world and United States history again focus on political and governing history of this nation and others rather than on such facets of history as culture, economics, or literature and the arts. In brief, the curriculum is crammed with political science, for better or worse.

Another important aspect of political science in the curriculum is the fact that the vast majority of school systems in the United States

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have citizenship education as a central educational objective. Indeed, "good citizenship" is often the basis or rationale for courses in United States history. In its infinite wisdom, the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts articulates in Chapter 468 of the Acts of the General Court that

> In all public schools . . . the Constitution . . . and history and government shall be taught as required subjects for the purpose of promoting civic service and a greater knowledge thereof and of fitting the pupils morally and intellectually for the duties of citizenship.

Usually, goals for citizenship education include knowledge about the United States government and other governmental institutions, the values of democracy and democratic institutions and processes, exemplary civic behavior, and, quite often, love of country. Although political science is the central discipline in citizenship education, other disciplines—certainly economics—can and must contribute to any preparation of the good citizen.

We can see, then, that political science is a very prominent discipline in the social studies curriculum, and that citizenship education is an overarching goal for elementary and secondary education. Given these facts, which are not likely to change in this decade, where can economic concepts be utilized in political science instruction and instructional resources to advance desired objectives for social studies education? The fine monograph by Ben Lewis, *Government and Our Economic System* (New York: Joint Council on Economic Education, 1972) and the Joint Council's *Economics in the Curriculum* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1970) have provided us with meaningful insights on the many and complex relationships between governing and economics. My purpose, however, is not to review the state of the art or even my own writings, which deal extensively with political science and economics. Rather, our task this afternoon is to look ahead and see how we can improve whatever "state of the art" we have in these important disciplines.

Before proceeding further, I want to impart a futuristic orientation to my paper. After all, education itself is—or should be—futuristic, because it is a structure and process for equipping young people to live, work, participate in civic affairs, share, and love in the future, *their* future. I feel, however, that much contemporary education seeks to prepare students for a *status quo* that is rapidly passing all of us by. My colleagues and I have been engaged—somewhat furiously—in futuristic curriculum development in the social studies, and our deliberations have motivated us to suggest at least five conditions for the year 2000 A.D. which will mold the lives of our students today: population, a crowded and congested society, a technological society, a brain-intensive society, and a medico-interventionist society.

Given these projections, what structure, process and style of education are needed, especially in the social studies, to increase the likeli-

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hood that our students of today will not only be able to cope in the year 2000 A.D. but also sustain and strengthen the values of a free society in 2000 A.D.? If we address ourselves to this question seriously, we may usher in during the 1970's a new cycle of change in the social studies, somewhat analogous to the "new social studies" cycle of the mid-1960's.

If one accepts the need for futuristic orientation in the social studies, one might also accept the premise that the new social studies cycle should be termed "performance-based social studies." By this, I mean that as students progress through the grades, their development should be appraised to a considerable extent by performances they demonstrate through overt behavior as well as by understanding performances that can be appraised in examinations and papers they author. Three offhand and specific examples are that each student before graduating from high school should demonstrate his or her capacity to read with real economic understanding the financial pages of newspapers; describe the political structure of his or her town or city in terms of precincts, wards and municipal political committees; and write a paper on the economic drain of crime and racism, based on research by the student in his own community.

Let me say immediately that the examples above may or may not be accepted by educators, authors, publishers and the public at large. They serve only to illustrate what I mean by a performance-based curriculum. Such a curriculum also should not exclude, by any means, the content matter from history and the social disciplines that is truly relevant to the students' intellectual and affective development and that is of value in standardized testing. The central point I should like to make is that a performance-based social studies curriculum stresses the students' capacity to understand and perform in a manner likely to ensure some measure of success in a progressively changing society.

Several reasons lead me to call for a performance-based curriculum. In the first place, in the society of tomorrow, which will be molded by at least some of our projections, the individual must possess skills beyond those of the computer in particular and technology in general. He or she must perform, or let someone else or some machine do the performing. A major task for education today is to make some determination of what those skills are or should be, especially a task for social science education. Secondly, performance-based social studies education will provide much-needed tools for determining what content in the curriculum really benefits students and what really has become irrelevant. We must have the courage to exclude, if we are to help the student through education to participate effectively in the world of tomorrow.

Third, a performance-based program may go far toward bringing the student and education into a state of far greater harmony than ever before. This will be particularly the case if the student can participate in determining the performance he or she is to demonstrate as a condition for upward mobility in education. If reading and understanding the financial pages is considered a performance to be required of some students, simulation of Wall Street procedures, the process of risk-taking,

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and gaming in the futures market are means toward the desired outcome. Student participation in the teaching-learning process, the teacher as a facilitator and not only a dispenser of knowledge, and classroom and out-of-school peer interactions in the process of research and discovery —all pointed toward specific performance outcomes—might go far to give the old saw "relevance" some relevance.

Fourth, it would appear that performance-based teacher education is coming down the pike, and a growing body of literature and even some court cases seek a close association between what a teacher is called on to do professionally in the classroom, or classroom performances, and developing those performances in the training of the teacher. I feel that a general requirement for teacher certification of 18 hours of education courses, including knowing how to run the 16-mm. projector, will increasingly be replaced by performance-based teacher education. This, after all, is the way we train and educate physicians, dentists and many other people entering the professions. The main point here, however, is that the performance-based curriculum and performance-based teacher certification can complement each other to the benefit of both the student and the teacher.

My colleagues and I have given this concept of the performance-based curriculum much thought and some action in recent years. This is true not only of our work in futuristic curricula but also in alternative educational projects in Boston, especially the Flexible Campus Program. The open-campus part of Flexible Campus provides many new curriculum options and opportunities in the high school, while the off-campus component for more than 2,000 high school students enables them to engage in learning programs in a host of societal institutions, all of which call for overt performances. Our use of resources from the John F. Kennedy Library gives students primary materials to study the Presidency and the process of governing. The many practical learning activities—performance-based—we have incorporated in the 1973 *Magruder's American Government* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1973) appear to be yielding desirable outcomes in the 12th-grade United States government course. In a way, therefore, the performance-based concept is hardly new, but it can and should grow and expand in the 1970's toward the end of better equipping students of today to survive and succeed in the world of tomorrow.

Toward this end, let me outline a possible framework for a performance-based social studies curriculum, with particular emphasis on relationships between the disciplines of political science and economics. It is not my task or authority to outline all the possible performances that might be desirable for students from kindergarten through grade 12 to demonstrate. But I can start with a very fundamental set of concepts taken from our Declaration of Independence and Constitution, show how they are expected performances for all of us, suggest how they can be used to develop a spiraling performance-based curriculum, and describe what implications this structure has for political science and economics.

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We begin first of all with the philosophic assumption that each of us is born with the unalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. At least, the Declaration of Independence says this is so, and because the structure and process of governing in the United States are unquestionably based on this premise, the concept of unalienable rights can well serve as the foundation and beginning of our performance-based curriculum.

The Declaration's words that "all men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," suggest that the basic rights are not limited to three. Indeed, in the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution, the words are "life, liberty, and property"; and there is much discussion today about whether education and health care, among others, are "rights." We generally have paid little attention to the pursuit of happiness as a right, but the term *pursuit* suggests that happiness, however defined, is a goal and pursuit is a process. We shall return shortly to goals and processes.

We then proceed to the Preamble to the Constitution, which we all should know by heart. If we examine the Preamble quite closely, we see that it is admirably suited to be the matrix of a performance-based social studies curriculum. "We the people" are represented here in Philadelphia in 1787 "to form a more perfect union." The authors of the Constitution did not say "*a* perfect union," but "a *more* perfect union." This suggests to me that the process of forming and re-forming must go on toward the overarching goal of working toward perfection. Perfection is the ideal, and our continuous goal is working toward perfection. No one has defined what a perfect union is. If we strive toward it, however, with some conception of what perfection might mean for preserving and strengthening the enjoyment of our unalienable rights, we are oriented toward the future and will not be satisfied with any *status quo* definition of perfection.

Given the basic goal of "toward a more perfect union," we now turn to the five performance objectives set forth in the Preamble—again concepts well ingrained in the memory juices of your brain. Obviously, "establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty." Before returning to these five performance objectives, we also note that to do all of this, "we the people" (as "represented" in Philadelphia) "do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." *Ordain* can mean "to order by virtue of superior authority" (*The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*); and of course the superior authority comes from the "people" who have the unalienable rights government is designed to secure. The Constitution is established as a structure and process of government and governing designed to provide the machinery for implementing the five performance objectives. To diagram the Preamble, we draw upon the governing-process model presented in Chapter Five of the Riddle and Cleary book, *Political Science in the Social Studies*. That chapter, "The Process Approach to

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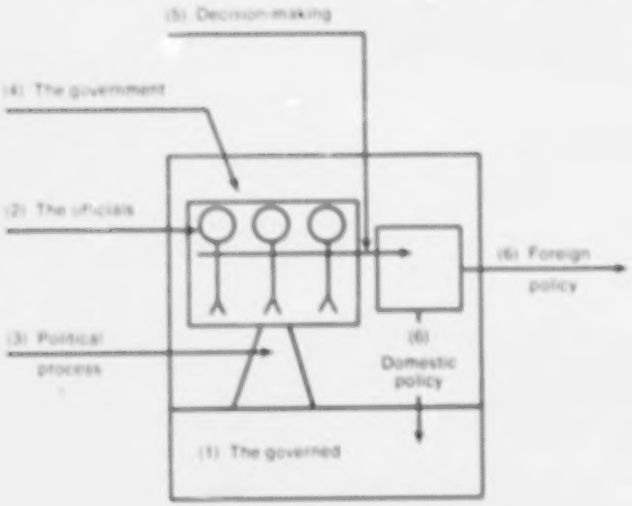
Political Science," outlines a structure and process for political science that I have used for many years in many kinds of instructional materials I have authored for students in elementary and secondary schools.



The Governing-Process Model

Clearly the goal of structure and process of governing in the United States is to move toward a more perfect union, and under that goal, to pursue the five interrelated performance objectives. *Structure* refers to the organization and institutions of American government, while *process* is the power and motion that give governing life within its structure. An analogy is the body as a structure and the circulation of blood as a process. It is *policy*, the sixth component of the governing-process model, that pursues the five performance objectives of justice, domestic tranquility, common defense, general welfare, and the securing of the blessings of liberty; and the comprehensive goal is the more perfect union.

Let us pause to make some general comments. For almost two hundred years we have sought to define these objectives, especially through policy-making in government and decisions in the courts. It is the function of democratic governing constantly to pursue what these objectives mean. For instance, a policeman is concerned about maintaining "domestic tranquility," while the citizen wants his "blessings of liberty" secured. Even today, the Supreme Court is called on in a number of court cases to make a determination of what blessings of liberty are not secured upon the occasion of an arrest to further domestic tranquility. It likewise is a task for students to make their own contributions in class and elsewhere toward definitions and redefinitions of these objectives.

Second, these objectives provide an excellent framework for citizenship education, because they should mean justice among and for all peo-

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ple irrespective of group identities; upholding public order and tranquility; helping one another to enjoy their rights in a free society; contributing to the welfare of all; and enhancing and enriching their individual blessings. Is not the Preamble to the Constitution a sound and authentic definition for citizenship education?

Third, the five performance objectives relate to the social disciplines found in many social studies programs. I take *justice* to mean policy that advances the "equality of man" theme in the Declaration, certainly in the domain of democratic intergroup relations and in equality before the law. Insuring domestic tranquility refers to both political science and especially programs of law education in the schools, which presently are multiplying rapidly. Providing for the common defense would be in the area of foreign policy, international relations, and the study of history that examines the ages of war and peace in the community of nations. Promoting the general welfare deals with policy largely in the economic realm as well as with sociology; while securing the blessings of liberty, aside from its psychological implications, permeates all the disciplines.

In other words, the five objectives can be viewed as referring to specific disciplines, but even more important, they relate to one another in a genuine interdisciplinary sense. What are the relationships between personal property, as guaranteed in the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution, and promoting the general welfare? When I vote or petition the government for a redress of grievances, a subobjective of liberty in the First Amendment, I do so not only in a political science sense but also have concern for the general welfare (economics), domestic tranquility (political science), and our common defense (foreign policy and history). All of this, then, bears on our relating economics to political science, to which we now turn.

What I should like to do is to discuss the performance objective—promote the general welfare—and suggest some concepts and bodies of knowledge, some aspects of value clarification, and some performances that relate economics to political science. It would be most desirable if other social scientists would set forth some bodies of knowledge, value clarifications, and performance outcomes for the other performance objectives suggested by the Preamble. Further, it would be most useful if at some future time, we could have a full exchange among a small group of social scientists on recommended bodies of knowledge, value clarifications and outcomes under all five objectives so as to provide guide lines to social studies educators on how they might profitably use these approaches to a performance-based curriculum in secondary school classrooms.

In turning to the governing-process model, we can see that it is essentially a political science design and can be used at almost any grade level, but with rising levels of sophistication as we proceed upward from the elementary to the secondary grades. Specifically, it can be used in any social science course, but it is especially germane in courses in civics, problems of democracy, and United States government, generally in grades 9 and 12. We have used the governing-process design in courses

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in civics, United States government, and problems of democracy and also, as I indicated earlier, as a matrix for an interdisciplinary approach to social studies education at all grade levels.

The principal input of economics into political science is in our fourth performance objective, promoting the general welfare. We take it that to advance toward a more perfect union, we must devise wise policy (No. 6 of the governing-process model) that can promote well-being for the greatest number. The main link between economics and political science is the role of national policy in regulating and allocating things of value in a democratic society, toward the objective of promoting the general welfare, or well-being.

Whatever I have to say about economic concepts in political science relates to my strong feeling that we should look forward into the lives of the young people we reach as well as backward into the history that has shaped the conditions in which we find ourselves today. Given what we think lies ahead in terms of population, an urbanized society, technology, and other projections, what can economics and political science contribute toward citizen efficacy and societal success and happiness in the decades ahead? What can we do today so that the students of today will continue to have justice, domestic tranquility, a common defense, general welfare and well-being, and security for their blessings of liberty tomorrow? What can we do today in education so that our students in future decades will be able to work toward that more perfect union?

Some social studies concepts in political science—it is difficult to call them solely economic—are power, process, decision-making, authoritative regulation and allocation, planning, a mixed market, and personal, institutional and societal responsibility. Undoubtedly there are and should be many others, but if we give these concepts decent treatment, we shall have painted our canvas quite adequately.

Under the idea of promoting the general welfare or well-being, we are concerned that students shall be well grounded in the distinguishing aspects of political science, the authoritative regulation of people and institutions and allocation of things of value, toward the goal of a more perfect union and the performance objectives in the Preamble of the Constitution. There is a body of knowledge they should know; they must have facility to clarify values; and they need behaviors or performances that demonstrate that they can give tangible meaning to their knowledge and values. Knowledge, values, and behaviors do not come in separate compartments, because each depends—or should depend—on the others. For the purposes of our discussion, however, I will take them up one at a time.

I assume that in essentially political science courses such as civics, problems of democracy, and United States government, students should know about the American governing process and the American mixed market system and should learn the facts and figures at increasing levels of sophistication as they move up in the grades. As a political scientist, I want them to know about the structure and process of governing in the six essential component parts of the governing-process model. If politi-

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cal science is concerned at its roots with the authoritative regulation of people and institutions and the allocation of things of value—No. 6 of the governing-process diagram—I want them to know about the body politic, what kinds of people the governing officials are, how they got into authoritative positions in the government, the structure of the government itself, as well as how it began and how it has developed and changed over the years. They need to know about the process of decision-making within the structure of government, and the overarching policies and laws that seek to regulate and allocate as this democratic society strives toward the more perfect union.

More specifically, I want students to examine, through case studies or otherwise, the authoritative regulatory and allocative function of public policy. One interesting way in which this can be done is to compare the American governing-economic system of the period around 1880 with the contemporary international system of nation-states. Today, in the international community, we have about 135 nation-states buying and selling, giving and taking, sharing and hoarding valued, but scarce, resources essential for the security and well-being of these states. Oil is only one example of a valued and scarce resource. This community of nation-states is a chaotic marketplace, where relations among states seeking scarce and valued resources is generally dominated by the major powers, especially the United States and the Soviet Union. Existing international institutions, such as the United Nations, and procedures for bringing order to relations, or international law, do not have the influence and power to regulate this marketplace and allocate things of value essential for international peace and well-being. Thus the chaos continues, causing inequities among nations. A hundred years ago, this kind of marketplace characterized the United States, especially as our national economy boomed after the Civil War. The economy and government were dominated by the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Carnegies, and the formidable financial and manufacturing institutions of the time. It was they, in general, which dominated the market conditions and exchanges. Then, for reasons we already know, along came the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and a subsequent stream of legislation or regulative and allocative policy, which profoundly altered the old market system and led to the mixed system we have today. All of this presumably is toward the broad goal of the more perfect union, and such objectives as establishing justice and promoting the general well-being.

Students must examine in some detail this history of the increased role of public policy to regulate and allocate and how it generated the mixed system we have today. I want them to understand how the "policy box," or No. 6 of the governing-process diagram, expanded so much since 1890 and what this has meant for promoting the general welfare or well-being of the people of the United States. I want them to realize that much, but certainly not all, of the growth of authoritative regulatory and allocative policy came about because many individuals and institutions did not assume sufficient responsibility to regulate themselves and to compromise in the allocation of valued, but scarce, resources. The

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first part of Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* does a fine job for us in this respect, as do several of the McGraw-Hill films on this concept we made for elementary school students.

I want students to understand that in the absence of self-regulation and societal responsibility by citizens and institutions, the government and huge private institutions such as our supercorporations will do the planning, regulation, and allocation for us. If these responsibilities are not understood and exercised, we shall have very few personal options for exercising responsibility and planning by the time of the active and responsible adulthood of our students of today. Certainly the current energy crisis is a salient case in point.

In any in-depth understanding of the role of regulative and allocative policy in the structure and process of governing, the concepts I have listed are both implicit and explicit. Power is vested in the individual who has authority to regulate and allocate the values of others. (This definition of power is based on the writings of the famous Yale social scientist, Harold Lasswell.) I want students to know the role of vested interest groups in our society that have such profound influence on shaping policy through the role these groups play. In addition, they might read, but not necessarily agree with, John Kenneth Galbraith, who, in his most recent book, *Economics and the Public Purpose*, concludes again that economics is a branch of politics.

In his review of this book in *The New York Times*, September 16, 1973, Richard J. Barnet writes as follows:

> In *The Affluent Society* (1958), John Kenneth Galbraith's dominant theme was that production for private affluence brought public squalor. His *The New Industrial State* (1957) explained why our system produced such an overabundance of dog food and male deodorants and such a shortage of decent housing, medical care and breathable air. Galbraith's answer [in his latest book] was that the growth of power in both public and private bureaucracies "was the decisive force in economic and political life."

Agree or not, I should like to have students examine those institutions and groups which exert such a powerful force on the shaping of public policy; how governments have or have not responded (e.g., the ITT case); and from this rather large body of knowledge and central concepts to form their own judgments of what all of this means to them. There are more bodies of knowledge and concepts they should know, but the above certainly is a starter. It also should demonstrate how complex governing and economic systems are, how interrelated they are, and that therefore the simple and easy answers and panaceas we so often hear today about governing and economics really solve nothing.

I also want students to examine the regulatory and allocative policy in such other nations as the Soviet Union, Sweden and Israel, and in some authoritarian nations in Africa and Asia as well. In such a comparative study, I want them to use the governing-process model to realize

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the problems and scarcities in other countries and to come to their own conclusions about the capacity of the United States to promote the general welfare for the greatest number.

But the words *knowledge, understanding* and other cognitive terms are not enough. I want them to move on to clarifying their own values and beliefs about the nature and function of authoritative regulation and allocation in our system. I should like to have them sort out and debate some of the following questions: As an ideal, what *is* a perfect union in the United States? What kind of public policy can advance us toward that more perfect union? How much or how little regulation and allocation of things of value is necessary to pursue the desired end? Provided with some excerpts from Galbraith's *Economics and the Public Purpose*, have them debate his recommendations for increased regulation in various areas of our economy, which this noted author says is essential to preserve the open-market system.

Further problems might be: What do we mean by personal, institutional and societal responsibility in such areas as consumerism, energy consumption, environmental protection, health, and resources essential for one's "senior citizen" years? What were the advantages and disadvantages of the American economy in 1880 and 1973, and what should this system be like in 1980 and 2000? What is necessary to get to where you think we should be, given what we think lies ahead? Is Ralph Nader nuts, or is he a knight on a shining white horse? When do you exercise your independent spirit or when do you compromise? Do you travel at 50 or 70 miles an hour; do you buy up all the gas you can; or do you voluntarily comply with authoritative national, state and or local policy? Why?

The possibilities for value discussion and clarification can be extended almost indefinitely, and the means for doing this abound. Textbooks and other instructional resources can contribute in many ways to helping students to sort out their own values after providing bodies of knowledge and concepts that will permit them to do some thinking for themselves. In December 1966, I dwelt on this point in a paper I gave before the American Textbook Publishers Institute Industry Conference, entitled "The Publisher as Teacher." I suggested how publishers could provide ways for young people to consider and debate their values, especially through students' own input into the teaching-learning process. Much has been done in this area, but much more remains to be done. Further, the publisher has an obligation, in my opinion, to enlarge the capacity of the teacher to be a facilitator of knowledge and learning as well as a dispenser of knowledge. These are areas where we must continue to work closely together, and this is another reason for this conference.

Performance outcomes serve as the third component in the teaching-learning process, following knowledge and value clarification. I can provide no hard definition of desirable outcomes for the performance objective of promoting the general welfare or well-being. I only ask that the concepts, bodies of knowledge, and value clarifications should lead

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to something more than the standardized test; but I certainly will be presumptuous enough to suggest in more detail what I consider performance outcomes to be.

To perform means, to me, to demonstrate. Demonstrations may be made by descriptions of what you know and even value in writing, orally, or in other forms of overt behavior. Performances, as a result or payoff from knowledge and value clarification, can easily take place in the classroom, such as a student's writing or talking about the process of purchasing a car. Here many of the things we have been talking about in this paper can be brought into play. Insurance for the car, for instance, involves knowledge, value judgments and futuristic planning. Off-campus performances can be demonstrated through student internships in societal institutions, such as in the kind of off-campus activities found in the Boston Flexible Campus Program.

Again, possibilities for authors, publishers and other educators abound for developing ways and means to give real meaning to a performance-based curriculum. The student should describe his or her knowledge and values about authoritative regulation and allocation through public policy and what this means to the student and the society at large. Again, the current energy crisis could be an excellent case study to tie all of this together. I especially want the student to demonstrate his or her knowledge and attitudes with respect to the role of vested interest groups in influencing the shaping of authoritative policy and in seeking to persuade public opinion of the righteousness of their cause. I only want to expand means to assist students to show what they know and to have their values respected, and to stimulate their own capacity to respect the values of others. The observer can make an assessment of what the student knows and his or her ability to demonstrate that knowledge, but not the student's values. The closest example I can give you is the case-study approach to legal education and how the law professor assesses law students.

I want the student to be a social science diagnostician and, toward that end, to explain to me through the financial pages of newspapers where government and the economy intersect. What is the role of the Securities and Exchange Commission with respect to those figures on the pages? What regulative and allocative authority does the Federal Reserve Board have, and how does it affect me when I seek a loan to buy that car? The financial pages have many economic indicators, and I want students to read and hear the media not only from the point of view of examining the day's events but to sort out indicators of the quality of life today and its portent tomorrow. In other words, we should develop political or civic and social indicators in addition to the well-honed sets of economic indicators. The concept of the student's using economic, governing, and social indicators to help him or her to diagnose the quality of life in his community and nation is being developed as a useful tool to improve on that quality of life in the future. Discovering and discussing indicators, then, can help students to simulate decision-making, using the governing-process design to determine what kinds of governmental decisions are necessary today to improve the

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quality of life tomorrow.

Here is where we want to develop planning skills among students, once they have tools to assess the quality of life through the tools of social science indicators. We have found that student teams which, through division of labor, plan and build futuristic model cities help to demonstrate the kinds of performances that we consider essential for living in the world of tomorrow. Students can observe city planning agencies in changing the face of urban life in America, and can learn many of the regulatory and allocative tasks and priorities that require authoritative decisions. Diagnostic tools and planning skills all draw upon students' knowledge and values, especially when there is disagreement in the classroom over the alternative futures envisioned by different groups of students.

I could go on at some length in dealing with performances and demonstrations of knowledge and value clarifications by students at all grade levels. My principal task, however, is to provide examples of economics in political science courses and curricula and not to write curricula or instructional resources that will help this cause. Let me say that performances and demonstrations in an action-filled, performance-based social studies curriculum should have the added advantage of giving the student some competence in his or her capacity to put knowledge to use. Knowledge and even value clarifications are not enough. We must extend and apply knowledge, and through demonstrations of performance students can tell us that they indeed have learned by doing. I know Dewey said all of this before, but perhaps the exigencies of the present and the challenges of tomorrow make it all the more necessary that education should have a greater pay-off to students than getting good grades in courses and on the SATs.

I believe a very significant contribution we as authors and publishers can make toward the advancement of learning in American schools is to persuade educational decision-makers at the local and state levels that the future does indeed lie ahead. *Status quo* education retards the students' capacity to perform effectively in the future. Education is for their future, not ours. Unless teachers recharge their batteries and unless instructional resources reflect the constant changes in knowledge, a school system simply cannot prepare first-grade Susie or twelfth-grade Richard for the good and meaningful life in the year 2000—when Susie will be 32 and Richard will be 43. Let's make it possible for Susie and Richard in 2000 A.D. to look back at us—now—and appreciate our clarion call for authoritative regulation and allocation to move education with the times—and toward the future.

There is always much a long-winded professor would like to say as he comes to his conclusions. I have sought in this paper to point out where political science generally is found in the curriculum and have stressed necessity, as I see it, for this social science and others to have a futuristic thrust. I related this to the concept of a performance-based curriculum that would enable students to demonstrate their knowledge, values and skills. I then suggested a conceptual framework, using the

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Declaration of Independence and the Preamble to the Constitution for relating economic thought and concepts to political science teaching and learning. An overarching consideration I had in mind was relating the five performance objectives in an interdisciplinary way to the students' efficacy, involvement and potential in the society of today and the increasingly complex society tomorrow.

In reviewing my talk before publishers in 1966, I think my concluding words then are equally appropriate now:

> Let us look ahead, then, especially in facing this question posed by Dr. Conant, "What kind of education do we need today to guarantee the survival of a free and open society tomorrow?" We cannot guarantee anything, but we can strive more effectively toward two essential goals for education—helping young people to realize their self-potential and guiding them toward behavioral goals for citizenship. This is toward the end of helping them to carry on that precious heritage which you and I have been privileged to enjoy, liberty of the mind, spirit, and action.

Suggestions for Further Reading and Reference *

Several items on the Joint Council's Checklist can be used to help teachers incorporate economic concepts into courses dealing with government and politics. These are:

Government and the Economy: A Resource Unit for Grades 7, 8, and 9. 1974. 32pp. Checklist No. 204. Price: $1.75.

Sar A. Levitan and Robert Taggart, *The Economics of Youth Unemployment.* 1973. 18pp. Checklist No. 163. Price: $1.25 for single copy with "Teach About" section; $11.00 for classroom set of 30.

Ben W. Lewis, *Government and Our Economic System.* 1972. 76pp. Checklist No. 179. Price: $1.50. Accompanying filmstrip with record or cassette (Checklist No. 178) available for $14.50 or $16.50 (cassette).

Wilfred Lewis, Jr., *Economic Stabilization Policies.* 1970. 24pp. Checklist No. 119. Price: $1.25. Accompanying filmstrip with record or cassette (Checklist No. 169) available for $14.50 or $16.50 (cassette).

* These suggestions are prepared by members of the Joint Council staff.

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Herbert C. Morton, *Taxation in the United States*. 1969. 18pp. Checklist No. 114. Price: $1.00. Accompanying filmstrip with record or cassette (Checklist No. 170) available for $14.50 or $16.50 (cassette).

Readings in Economics for 12th Grade Students of American Democracy. 1968. 199pp. Checklist No. 91. Price: $3.00. *Teacher's Manual* of 82pp., Checklist No. 92, available for $1.50.

Publications available from other sources and suitable for student use are numerous. The following list is a representative sample:

Robert Berger and Joseph Tellin, *Law and the Consumer*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969. 90¢ (paperbound).

John R. Coleman, *Comparative Economic Systems: An Inquiry Approach*, rev. ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974. $6.60.

William Ebenstein, *Today's Isms*, 7th ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973. $7.95.

Gerald K. Gamber, *Government in the United States Economy*. St. Cloud, Minn.: St. Cloud State College Center for Economic Education, 1973. Free (paperbound).

Joseph A. Kershaw, *Government Against Poverty*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1970. $2.95 (paperbound).

Robert A. Liston, *Who Shall Pay? Taxes and Tax Reform in America*. New York: Julian Messner, 1972. $4.95.

Donald Oliver and Fred Newmann, *The New Deal: Free Enterprise and Public Planning*. Columbus, Ohio: American Education Publications, 1968. 45¢ (paperbound).

Adrian A. Paradis, *How Money Works: The Federal Reserve System*. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1972. $4.95.

Teachers and students of superior ability can use one or more of the following books to learn more about government's role in the economy:

William H. Anderson, *Financing Modern Government*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973. $11.50.

Patricia F. Bowers, *Private Choice and Public Welfare*. Hinsdale, Ill.: The Dryden Press, 1974. $12.50.

Robert B. Carson, Jerry L. Ingles and Douglas McLaud, Editors, *Government in the American Economy*. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1973. $4.95 (paperbound).

Robert E. Cleary and Donald H. Riddle, Eds., *Political Science in the Social Studies*, Chapter 5, "The Process Approach to

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Political Science," by John S. Gibson. Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1966. $4.00 (paperbound).

Federal Economic Policy 1945-1965. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1966. $2.50.

Arnold C. Harberger, *Taxation and Welfare*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1974. $6.95.

Robert H. Haveman and Robert D. Hambrin, Eds., *The Political Economy of Federal Policy*. New York: Harper & Row, 1973. $4.95 (paperbound).

James Heilbrun, *Urban Economics and Public Policy*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973. $9.95.

David N. Hyman, *The Economics of Governmental Activity*. Hinsdale, Ill.: The Dryden Press, 1973. $11.00.

Michael E. Levy, *The Federal Budget: Its Impact on the Economy*. New York: The Conference Board, 1973. $3.50.

H. H. Liebhafsky, *American Government and Business*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1971. $12.75.

Lloyd D. Musolf, *Government and the Economy*. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1965. $1.95 (paperbound).

Douglass C. North and Roger Leroy Miller, *The Economics of Public Issues*, 2nd ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1974. $2.95 (paperbound).

Charles L. Schultze, *The Politics and Economics of Public Spending*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1969 $1.95 (paperbound).

Gordon Tullock, *Private Wants, Public Means: An Economic Analysis of the Desirable Scope of Government*. New York: Basic Books, 1970. $6.95.

The U.S. Economy: Challenges in the 1970's. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1973. $4.00 (paperbound).

Richard E. Wagner, *The Public Economy*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1973. $10.00.

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Grafting Good Economics onto Basic History Courses

Paul L. Ward

WHAT can we do to improve the incidental learning of economics in history courses in the schools? Certainly a large part of the material in these courses is in substance economics, and much of it is poor in quality. The Joint Council on Economic Education has recently conducted a commendable review of exactly this material at the various school levels, through a systematic sampling of textbooks. The specific deficiencies of uncounted separate pieces of economic instruction have been helpfully pointed out, and improvements suggested. It is hard indeed to see how the job could be done better.

But something different may now be in order. The Joint Council's surveys give teachers a long array of separate items of economic knowledge, one that also could easily be extended. How choose among all these items? Which should be emphasized? After all, historical facts learned in school seem peculiarly liable to being forgotten, as witness the findings of pollsters when testing citizens' knowledge of our country's history. To give history teachers long lists of improved items of information thus risks being an invitation to bad teaching—that is, to the handing out of inert data for students to memorize and later forget. The schooling of American youngsters, many of us feel, is already overburdened with such dead-end learning. Lists deserve to be supplemented by firm advice as to how to select from them.

At the risk of being sententious, I would put it next that the art of helping students to learn involves attention successively to three things:

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significance, activity and pay-off. First, that is, the item to be learned needs to be brightened for the student by some touch of special significance. In my own past teaching of historical dates—dates are the smallest example I could give, but often the millstone around the neck of student interest—I early found it useful to insist, "Don't ever learn a date until you first know what difference it makes that it is not a few years earlier or later." Second, the teacher has to see to it that the student's learning of the item is active, a matter of doing things and making decisions, not passive. This, and not any need to imitate the professional historian, is why history learning does well to involve inquiry. Third, the teacher has to make sure that the learning is followed by a pay-off, some satisfying result that is not fully signaled (and therefore discountable) ahead of time. To the extent that these requisites are present, I am persuaded, learning is less likely to be forgotten, and more likely to have transfer value into new and unexpected situations, which is after all the goal of all nontrivial learning.

This is by way of saying that any items of economic knowledge chosen for emphasis in history courses should, I feel, be ones that lend themselves to the three steps of significance, activity and pay-off. It says that they should be good discussion material for students of the age level in question, but it says more than that. We can try to make sure that each item has a variety of angles of significance for the students; that each has the right degree of difficulty to call for working through actively and without too much frustration; and that each offers the learners some bits of skill and understanding that they can put to unexpected good effect. Such items are likely to be issues or competencies that repay recurrent attention and so subsume many smaller items, such as the definitions and propositions and facts in the Joint Council's surveys. As basic issues and competencies they can give coherence to what otherwise for some students may be a rope of sand.

Before I suggest a few such issues of economic knowledge, let me approach the problem of choosing them from yet another angle. I am, after all, not an economist but an historian. What I hope I best understand, from nearly a lifetime of continuing attention, are the underlying characteristics of historical study as a human enterprise, when successful. The grafting of economics learning onto history learning is worth while only if the latter is healthy enough to nourish the former—if, in simplest terms, the students' minds are alive and learning, not turned off, at the points in the history where challenging economics is introduced.

To agree as to what are the underlying objectives and rewards of history learning—that is, the criteria of its real success—is of course not a simple matter. In my view these objectives and rewards come down to certain competencies of perceptiveness and balance, of mental dexterity and self-management, that make historical study a self-renewing enterprise and one of the dependable resources for the modern human spirit. It is the need to develop and test these particular competencies, I would argue, that is precisely the one credible explanation for good history teachers' stubborn reliance on essay questions, on course papers, and on

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master's and doctor's dissertations. But until now these competencies have been left implicit in the procedures of apprenticeship, as if all serious students of history were necessarily headed for careers as professional historians. So the list of five basic competencies that I ventured to publish last year and shall now use must be considered highly tentative and partly, of course, idiosyncratic.[1]

They will, however, serve the need of the moment, which is to make clear how the issues of economic knowledge chosen for successful grafting onto history courses can not only lend themselves to meaningful, active and satisfying economic learning, but also fit the necessities of successful historical learning. As will become plain, the five competencies I shall treat are not themselves alien to successful learning in the field of economics proper. But pervasively the emphasis is so different that any blurring of the two fields invites a whole range of unnecessary difficulties.

Let me start with the one of the five historical competencies most congenial to our present purposes. This is the ability to reach relatively sound initial or heuristic judgments on present-day hypotheses or propositions through the use of a wide range of past evidence, with a grasp of both the values and the difficulties of historical comparisons. This ability is particularly appropriate in the case of propositions, so common in current public-policy debate, that rest on recent or inherited experience. One such topic within economic knowledge that comes immediately to mind is inflation as a long-run phenomenon. Much popular thinking about inflation, I submit, is shaped by awareness of two dramatic episodes of the recent past: the collapse of Confederate currency in the Civil War, and the collapse of the German mark in the early 1920's that robbed the German middle class of its security and so helped to open the way for Hitler. It is such simplistic views as the proposition that inflation, being unnatural, arises only as part of such major failures of government that are worth critical consideration by students.

Opportunities are actually many, both in world history and American history courses, to provide a more thoughtful cumulative treatment of inflation. They can serve as introductions in various ways to the theory of money and prices. The great inflation of the sixteenth century, by three times at the Dutch textile center of Leyden, was presumably due not simply to the flood of silver from American mines, but also to the quickened pace of commerce promoted by the new major trade centers like Antwerp. The memorable deflation extending from the Civil War almost to the Spanish-American War was perhaps due both to the small world output of gold between the Californian and Alaskan gold rushes, and to the greater real output from New World prairies and elsewhere, transported by the new railroads and steamships and coordinated by the London market. Alternatively, it may be better explained by the continuing habits of high saving after the demand for investment in railroads and the like declined.

[1] *AHA Newsletter*, May 1973, p. 25.

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I would suggest to students, frankly, that this late nineteenth century deflation, during which anyone could put monthly savings in a bank and end up disproportionately ahead, subsequently lay powerfully behind the simplistic notions that crystalized as anti-New Deal conservatism. On the whole, we should bear in mind, the movement of prices since Charlemagne's currency reform twelve hundred years ago has been almost continuously inflationary, punctuated by more or less brief deflationary periods. In other words, we can say that today's conservative mentality is stronger because of a relatively peculiar bit of monetary experience in our grandfathers' day. The predominance of inflation over the centuries is not a perverse phenomenon. In general those who gain by deflation are the widows living on pensions and similar rentiers. Those who gain by inflation are the active businessmen, who characteristically borrow money, when they then repay they have to pay less real value. These latter are the members of society who are bringing about improvements and adjustments—is it not cosmic justice that on the average they benefit from price movements more than those who do nothing? If the moral problems of inflation are not hidden from the students' eyes, there is much in past experience of inflation and deflation to occasion pay-offs of insight and enlightening comment.

Recent advances of statistical work in economic history have brought past instances of inflation and deflation under better scholarly control, so that the pitfalls of glib historical comparison can more easily be seen and pointed out. Major price movements have normally been so important for their own day that analytic attention to their causes and character, selectively, can only make the history more interesting and better history. There seems little chance that inflation will not continue in the later 1970's to be an everyday topic of debates and assertions that merit matching against historical parallels. In short, inflation is a good subject for learning how and how not to use history as a storehouse of examples; and it has the lively significance, degree of theoretical difficulty, and useful pay-offs for effective economic learning.

My second suggestion focuses on the historian's competency at combining critical analysis with narrative reconstruction, to the advantage of both. Often historical writing falls most naturally into one of these two modes only, with the other presupposed as adequately provided by the reader's or student's prior learning. But the value of combining the two is at times particularly clear, and so it is in the case of my suggestion now: mercantilism before the American Revolution. Textbooks usually treat the issues involved in mercantilism from one angle only, which is the one corresponding to the Patriots' position in our War of Independence. A more penetrating attention to the human sequence of things, of what happened why, opens up a better analytic understanding, I would argue.

The Navigation Acts, when adopted by Great Britain in the mid-seventeenth century, were measures of commercial protection against the all-too-aggressive Dutch. Throughout that century the tiny Dutch nation owned and operated most of the shipping of northern Europe,

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and their Amsterdam was overwhelmingly dominant as the international trade center. On our own side of the Atlantic their merchants by 1650, indignant at the monopolistic Spanish, had turned the Caribbean for two decades or so into a Dutch lake. The English had embarked on heavy investments of men and capital in colonies both down there and up here on the mainland coast. Continuation of English investments required tariff-like protective measures, or else all returns might be siphoned off by the enterprising Dutch, with their low prices and prompt payments for goods bought. To be sure, by the 1700's the British navy had become supreme and London had improved as a market. But even then the Dutch remained the ever-present competitors, particularly in the Caribbean where the Dutch king of England, William III, had let them keep St. Eustatius as an intense commercial center right in the midst of the English and French sugar-producing islands. The attitudes of the 1650's were still partly justified in the 1770's.

So the Dutch represented free trade, battening on the fruits of investment and of military outlays by their less advanced neighbors. Professor Douglass North has recently demonstrated that most of the great increase in productivity in Western Europe in the two centuries 1600 to 1800 was through reduction of shipping charges thanks to the elimination of piracy on one route after another.[1] The Dutch had initially contributed to this elimination, but the British and French navies had then become the chief guardians of the sea lanes, making possible the cheap transport of basic goods from the places of their most economical production, for the benefit of all Europe. Why should the Dutch free traders be the chief beneficiaries?

Now the argument against mercantilism and for free trade as presented in current textbooks—following Adam Smith—is necessary if students are to understand the highly effective role of unfettered individual enterprise, like that of the Dutch, in the economic growth of the Atlantic World in those centuries. But a sense of how the contrary policy had previously been established by the sequence of events is also needed if students are to see the parallel with the rise of protective tariffs in the new U.S. nation, after the accidental shelter of the wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon had passed and new factories in New England found themselves exposed to competitors all too like the Dutch earlier. The contrast between the early colonists' resistance to the Navigation Acts, which in 1684 had actually forced London to revoke the original Massachusetts charter, and the desire of Massachusetts textile factories for protection in the early nineteenth century, is ironic and enlightening.

More generally, the parallel and contrast between the mercantilistic situation and the tariffs of developing nations are useful for both economic and historical learning. In both historical situations investment

[1] D. C. North and R. P. Thomas, *The Rise of the Western World* (Cambridge University Press, 1973), p. 137; for the argument that transactions costs counted for more, p. 164 cites a forthcoming article by C. G. Reed in the *Journal of Economic History*.

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needed protection of its fruits—we know how essential investment is for economic development—and yet devices of protection also in part simply diverted profits from some men's pockets to others'. In both cases the tension of interests can be made clear by following, in a sequence of events, the personal views and interests of peaceful men who gained from free trade and peaceful men who deserved protection from destructive competition. Stereoscopic vision can help both economic and historical learning.

My third suggestion poses an issue of economic knowledge that involves the most work-a-day historical competency, the ability to digest a mass of detail by a selection achieving both depth and comprehensiveness. The difficulty of such note-taking is greatest when strong preconceptions make it hard to combine listening and catching what is between the lines with inquiring acutely and extorting answers that speak to the inquirer's own questions. This is a difficulty commonly found in history courses whenever the relation of political governments to the economic functioning of their societies is in question. So this topic is my third suggestion.

Objection may be raised that this is a topic for history, for Marxist philosophy, for political science perhaps, but not for economics. I would answer that the plausibility of this objection reflects the abstractness of much economic thinking, abetted by the sturdy parochialism of the Wall Street mind. The final chapter of economics textbooks I have used, on "Alternative Economic Systems," by no means does justice to the importance of governmental arrangements to economic effectiveness, and vice versa, in our twentieth century. In the *Journal of Economic History* recently, Messrs. North and Thomas have analyzed the medieval manorial system by treating the lord's protection as one of the economic variables.[1] Many of the institutional arrangements provided by government, indeed, can be treated as transaction costs responsive to economic pressures: costs of search, negotiation and enforcement, in North's language. Given the size and low population density of the United States, transportation costs may have been the limiting factor, and so can be seen as having impelled all the American government's successive subsidizing of railroads, automobile highways and airports.

The task for students is to learn to spot what is most significant so as to ask the penetrating questions. They will do better, I suggest, if they recognize the essential two-sidedness of business-government relations in the development of institutional arrangements for more efficient economic organization. To hark back for a moment, mercantilism's emphasis on gold and silver represented the central government's need to have at hand reservoirs of currency for peremptory use in any emergency. So the Goldsmiths' Company in London received special privileges from Charles II, and then, like so many business favorites of royalty in previous centuries, was ruined by his taking its funds in a forced loan. Yet

[1] D. C. North and R. P. Thomas, "The Rise and Fall of the Manorial System: a Theoretical Model," *Journal of Economic History*, 31 (December 1971), 783.

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only a few years later the Glorious Revolution made possible a new age of government financing of emergency needs: under a Dutch king (William III) and a triumphant Parliament, a Bank of England modeled on the great Bank of Amsterdam was founded in 1694 and drew to it much Dutch investment capital. From that moment the English government could wait for the emergency actually to arrive and then borrow all it needed through the Bank at low rates, since the bankers were simultaneously, in effect, members of the relevant committees of the House of Commons, deciding there in the atmosphere of aroused patriotism on the taxes to repay the loans. The English thereafter could defeat the mighty Louis XIV on land and sea, for their government could put its hands on all the money it needed at no increase of rates, whereas he could not borrow all he needed even at twenty per cent.[4] It was only a matter of time before Adam Smith would discover and proclaim that the "wealth of nations" lay not in any reservoirs of cash but in their total functioning economies. The sensitive cooperation between money-managers and defense-managers has ever since underlain the strength of democratic governments, most plainly in world wars.

Is there an analogy within American history for 1694 as turning-point in world history? The New Deal legislation of F.D.R. would seem the major turning-point in U.S. business-government relations. Perhaps we can say that the emergencies in view then were not wars, but major depressions, which in the nineteenth century had been tolerable because impersonal and presided over—to the extent that they were international in cause or correlations—by the scrupulous London market for money and commodities. But by the early 1930's the New York market had come of age, and the world of trade was being powerfully influenced by the self-wills of Stalin and Hitler and Mussolini. Even before Keynes provided the explanation that depressions were not automatically self-correcting, the Roosevelt administration was creating new means of sensitive cooperation between the money-managers and the national-welfare-managers. This January these new means are being put to a severe test by the politicoeconomic decisions of the Arab oil governments.

These two, the Glorious Revolution and the New Deal, are only examples. What I am suggesting is that the whole subject of government-business relations is so richly exemplified in history courses that we must take special pains to select certain aspects and turning-points to underline the decisive elements, which can then serve economic understanding. My two examples relate, I believe, only to long-term transaction costs arising from fear of military defeat or serious depression, and to the costs of such events when they occur. But economists may be able to say much that I am not aware of about assimilating the extraordinary, and the threat of it, to the operations of the ordinary.

My fourth suggestion focuses on the historian's competency at engaging and testing his personal values without distorting, and only deepening,

[4] G. M. Trevelyan, "The English Revolution, 1688-1689," quoted in *The Making of Modern Europe*, H. Ausubel, Ed. (New York: Dryden Press, 1951), I: 317.

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his perceptions and conclusions. The essential here, I submit, is to be engaged in candid dialogue with an opposing value position, in full mutual respect. Given this kind of thoughtful dialogue and the requisite disciplinary skills, objectivity in the right sense is only heightened through openness and sensitivity. I would suggest that the question of "growth" now engages our values, as students and scholars, both pro and con, much more effectively than the questioning of progress ever did in past generations. The latter was more of an intellectual exercise or an Olympian appraisal of one's place in the sweep of history. Now suburbs consider preventing any further building of residences; young people have the choice before them of having few children or none; at a trivial level, older folk like myself must consider taking walks for recreation.

But the questioning is so newly on us that effort is needed for teacher and student to break out of the cultural envelope that assumes all growth to be good. History courses can seize opportunities to see the opposite through the eyes of people in the past—people of energy and ambition, not just the soured and reactionary who can be found in any age. Writing on "Technological Innovation and Economic Progress in the Ancient World," M. I. Finley has shown that the men of Greece and Rome were simply not interested in increasing production even when the means was plainly in their hands.[5] We can explain this by believing that they thought of production as a matter of slave labor, but all the same their disinclination to value productivity seems to have been as natural as the opposite is with us. Again, research into the background of the French Revolution has at last made it plain that much of our difficulty in understanding it is due to our stubborn assumption that in the ancien regime the nobles must have had a nonmodern and the bourgeoisie a modern attitude toward money-making: Colin Lucas is persuasive that all were chiefly interested in social promotion, so that each rising bourgeois family made its own calculation as to when it could best cut its connection with trade as a source of wealth.[6] The basic premise of an idealistic economics is, of course, that each individual human desires above all to maximize his wealth. The free market may need this as a pervasive motivation, but other motives govern many of men's economic decisions even in our world. History can help the student to reckon with this rationally and so become able to conduct more enlightening arguments pro and con over growth.

The possible contribution of history to balanced discussions of the ecological aspects of growth is hardly advanced by an acute but historically ill-informed article recently in *Science* on "The Tragedy of the Commons," by Professor Garrett Hardin. Land open to everyone's use, as the Mojave Desert is to motor cyclists of southern California, does run danger of destructive abuse. But contrary to Hardin's belief, the villages of medieval and early modern Europe usually restricted use of their

[5] *The Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 18 (1965), 29-45.

[6] C. Lucas, "Nobles, Bourgeois and the Origins of the French Revolution," *Past and Present* (August 1973), 93.

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commons precisely to avoid excessive grazing.[7] Furthermore, as Professor North has shown, it is simplest to understand the historical growth since 1000 A.D. of government's role vis-à-vis production as impelled precisely by the "free rider," the individual or individuals who could not resist using common resources without contributing proportionately to the costs.[8] Voluntary action, for this very reason, has yielded to governmental sanctions and taxes. Our civilization has perhaps more experience and skill for the problem Hardin poses than for any other comparable one.

In American history one turning-point affecting the issues of growth was, I suggest, the Charles River Bridge case of 1829 and 1837. When the Supreme Court decided that the new and competing Warren Bridge should be allowed in spite of the older bridge's franchise, on the grounds that all private property is inherently subject to risk of indirect loss due to government action, the balance was tipped further in favor of disregarding the indirect effects of new construction.[9] Students should find it easy now both to appreciate the benefits for our country during the nineteenth century of the free rein given to construction and innovation, and yet from what they themselves have seen to visualize the wastelands of ghost towns and slums and strip-mined countryside that have also resulted. Now at last in the 1970's we are beginning to experience the money costs of the social side-effects that economists used to treat as unquantifiable externalities. Arguments bringing rationally into play deeply held values on both sides of the issue are now more possible.

The fifth and last historical competency to which I want to direct attention is the combining of positive interest in the "pastness" and peculiarities of historical experience, with a mature alertness to its suggestiveness and even demonstrative value for present understandings. Here of course lies the fun of history, which is greater when not antiquarian but intellectually responsible, consisting in ability to throw oneself into the search for what really was the situation, or the cause of it all, while remaining alert for serendipitous insights. A concern for economic mechanisms may seem antithetical, and yet an ability to attach importance to the full range of ways in which economic mechanisms themselves have operated may be in fact the best preparation for applying the abstractions of economic thought subsequently to the confusions of actual life. No abstraction is perhaps more central than the market, and whenever imperfections of the market, imperfect competition and oligopoly and the rest, are treated as perverse deviations from an essentially ideal pattern, analysis of the market becomes hard to relate to more than a few

[7] Jerome Blum, "The Internal Structure and Polity of the European Village Community from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century," *The Journal of Modern History*, 43 (1971), 549-551. The Hardin article appeared in *Science*, 162 (13 December 1968), 1243-1248.

[8] North and Thomas, *Rise of Western World*, pp. 4-7.

[9] Oscar Handlin and M. F. Handlin, *Commonwealth* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969), pp. 196-197.

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pieces of past history.

In a related field, Thomas Kuhn's *Structure of Scientific Revolutions* presents the current classic argument against reading the history of any specialized development as essentially the gradual accumulation, or sporadic foreshadowing, of its present salient features. Kuhn shows that so to read it serves neither historical nor theoretical understanding. I want to suggest that the functioning of the market in history can be understood as based on variables such as the volume of transactions and the standardization of commodities, and that from this standpoint many more past instances become interesting and relevant.

I would go one step further, indeed, and suggest that, whether or not it has been a corollary of volume of transactions, the degree of "open outcry" is worth emphasizing: that is, the degree to which prices and terms of the transactions are made publicly known upon completion. From this angle, price is a mechanism not simply for rationing supply but more importantly for influencing the quantity supplied and the quantity demanded, and "open outcry" does much to make it effective. At the opposite extreme from the New York Stock Exchange there stands the Oriental bazaar, where despite frequent transactions the actual prices agreed upon through bargaining remain confidential, so that notions of "just price" have to circulate in their place. It is personal experiences of bargaining, in Lebanese markets as a student and in central China later as an institutional treasurer, that persuade me that the "just price" of the European Middle Ages deserves to be understood in this fashion, I may point out.

So a landmark date for Europe's market economy was 1585, when upon the fall of Antwerp and the immediate meteoric rise of Amsterdam in its place as Europe's market, the earliest known weekly commodity price list was printed at Amsterdam. Presumably the weekly list at once made for faster adjustments of amounts supplied and demanded, bringing about much speedier economies of scale. Professor North emphasizes that here for the first time a country, the Netherlands, achieved sustained economic growth, economic production more than keeping pace with population growth at last.[10] A whole accumulation of improved arrangements so increased the speed of response to price at Amsterdam that the first boom and crash took place only some forty years later, the commodity in question being, delightfully enough, the tulip.

Professor North is ready to ascribe the appearance of commodity price lists at Amsterdam to the increased scale of transactions alone.[11] But the volume of transactions achieved at times in major Oriental cities makes this unlikely. Printing, which flourished in the Low Countries, must be another part of the explanation. The peculiarly enterprising nature of Dutch agriculture, and of Dutch voyages to overseas producing areas, can have ensured a readership anxious for the latest word upon

[10] North and Thomas, *Rise of Western World*, pp. 116-117, 132.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

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which to base a decision as to the next venture. The lack in the Netherlands of any real government, by contemporary stardards then, allowed the reporters of prices to earn trust in their reports, we can assume, without interference from on high.

The last of these factors deserves a moment's emphasis. In the halcyon *laissez-faire* days of the nineteenth century, businessmen all over the world trusted London prices to be free from political manipulations; whereas in our century much of the world thinks capitalist activities a conspiracy, and even the stock market in New York usefully has a Securities and Exchange Commission to guard against price-rigging. The degree of trust necessary for today's complex economic operations, and the degree of virtually idealistic devotion needed to maintain trustworthy systems of open outcry—when any reasonably cynical businessman would of course prefer to keep the exact terms of his transactions secret—need to be underlined to students. The peculiarities of past economic patterns and crises can then both delight them and prepare them to put more intelligently to use the economics they learn.

My list of five suggestions is completed. As issues they have little novelty: long-run inflation, mercantilism and tariffs, business-government institutional cooperation, the pro and con of growth, open outcry. One or another may be worth developing in some textbook along the lines indicated, or else in a separate pamphlet to give the teacher a sense in depth of how the topic, thus viewed, can be woven into classroom discussions at different stages of the world history course, or American history course. My underlying interest is to recommend choice of subjects (and of emphases) in the interest of a particular way of teaching and learning, one which I now find well put by Byron Massialas and Nancy Sprague in this month's *Social Education*. If I shift the angle from the teaching side to the learning side, their definition of teaching as inquiry reads: "The goal of" learning "is to clarify the issue, to" uncover and explore "different hypotheses or positions related to the issue, and then" as far as possible "to resolve value conflicts which arise and to determine defensible solutions to them."[1] Factual knowledge learned as part of such inquiry is not inert and is likely to have significant value even when half-forgotten.

But what may have been more confusing are the five historical competencies which I have been illustrating. To repeat them in reverse order, I argue that a mature historical curiosity, a responsible handling of one's own value assumptions, a perceptive digesting of available data, a combining of logical thinking with humanistic insight, and a responsible using of historical instances to test and refine contemporary propositions, are all essential skills to be learned, if the student is to enable himself to profit from the recorded past whenever he has reason. Each requires effort and practice for mastery, that is, for self-conscious and fluent control.

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[1] B. G. Massialas and N. F. Sprague, "Teaching Social Issues as Inquiry: A Clarification," *Social Education*, 38 (1974), 14.

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In one further respect what I have said about all five issues may have a sameness that I should acknowledge. All represent an attempt to mediate between conventional economic analysis and the views of businessmen committed to the free market. I happen to be persuaded that it is the tension between these two worlds of thought that has given character and strength to the subject of economics since the days of Adam Smith at least. Both seem to me important for the understanding of the history of our modern world. The complexity of what has happened—and in happening has shaped ourselves and our world—needs to be clarified by both the concern for better analytical understanding, and the concern for what has thus far brought about nearly four centuries of escape from the Malthusian dilemma.[13]

One last objection should be met before I close. Many may say that good teachers do the kind of thing I am suggesting, without benefit of suggestion or help. I beg to differ. To look beyond the historical example or incident that comes first to hand, to search out alternative bodies of data when the first seems to have been reasonably good, requires effort and time that few teachers can muster. In my experience, after this hesitation, and this effort and expenditure of time, the sequel is almost always a surprise. There *are* other possibilities, and one of them is better for students' learning than the first in view—often it is illuminatingly better by scholars' standards also. History touched by a concern for analysis is not one thing after another as things come to mind, but a careful selection and ordering of what will best serve the understanding.

*Suggestions for Further Reading and Reference**

The Joint Council on Economic Education has produced several items which can be helpful in teaching economics in history courses. Note the following:

Economics Readings for Students of Eighth Grade United States History. 1966. 87pp. Checklist No. 23. Price: $1.75. (Accompanying *Teacher's Manual* of 75pp. is also available for $1.75. Checklist No. 24.)

Economic Themes in United States History: A Resource Bulletin for Teachers. 1962. 15pp. Checklist No. 14. Price: $1.00.

Fluctuations in the American Economy. 1972. 44pp. Checklist No. 158. Price: $1.50. (*Teacher's Guide* included.) Ac-

[13] North and Thomas, *Rise of Western World*, p. 103.

* These suggestions are prepared by members of the Joint Council staff.

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companying filmstrip with record or cassette (Checklist No. 195) available for $14.50 or $16.50 (cassette).

The Growth of the American Economy. 1972. 43pp. Checklist No. 160. Price: $1.50. (*Teacher's Guide* included.) Accompanying filmstrip with record or cassette (Checklist No. 196) available for $14.50 or $16.50 (cassette).

Readings in Economic for 11th Grade Students of United States History: A Unit on the Great Depression. 1968. 32pp. Checklist No. 94. Price: $1.50. (Accompanying *Teacher's Manual* of 17pp. is also available for $1.25. Checklist No. 95.)

Teaching Economics in American History: A Teacher's Manual for Secondary Schools. 1973. 100pp. Checklist No. 182. Price: $3.50. (This book can also be obtained as part of a learning activities packet titled *Economics in American History*. The packet contains 120 color slides and a 20-page *Teacher's Guide* suggesting various uses, questions and activities. Checklist No. 198. Price: $57.00.)

Works on economic history in general which are suitable for use in secondary schools are rare, but the following books could be used by students.

Harvey C. Bunke, *A Primer on United States Economic History*. New York: Random House, 1969. $2.25 (paperbound).

George G. Dawson, *Our Nation's Wealth: What You Should Know About Economics in American History*. New York: Scholastic Book Services, 1968. 95¢ (paperbound). (Suitable for upper elementary and junior high school pupils.)

Paul Hohenberg, *A Primer on the Economic History of Europe*. New York: Random House, 1968. $2.95 (paperbound).

Robert H. Walker, *Everyday Life in the Age of Enterprise*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1967. $3.50. (Suitable for upper elementary and junior high school pupils.)

Two college textbooks in introductory economics which relate economic analysis to historical events are as follows:

Martin G. Giesbrecht, *The Evolution of Economic Society: An Introduction to Economics*. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1972. $3.95 (paperbound).

Lafayette G. Harter, *Economic Responses to a Changing World*. Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1972. $8.95

Among the many economic history books which might be used by teachers wishing to increase their own knowledge are:

John Chamberlain, *The Enterprising Americans: A Business History of the United States*. New York: Harper & Row, 1974. $8.95.

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Shepard B. Clough, *European Economic History: The Economic Development of Western Civilization*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968. $10.50.

Lance E. Davis, Richard A. Easterlin and William N. Parker, Editors, *American Economic Growth: An Economist's History of the United States*. New York: Harper & Row, 1972. $13.95.

Gilbert C. Fite and Jim Reese, *An Economic History of the United States*, 3rd ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973. $11.50.

John D. Guilfoil and Daniel E. Diamond, *U. S. Economic History*. Morristown, N.J.: General Learning Press, 1973. $12.50.

Gerald A. J. Hodgett, *A Social and Economic History of Medieval Europe*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1972. $9.50.

Roger LeRoy Miller, *American Economic Life: Yesterday and Today*. San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1974. $5.95 (paperbound).

R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*. New York: New American Library, 1954. 95¢ (paperbound).

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Economics and Geography*

Clark C. Bloom

THREE basic facts underlie this presentation: (1) Specific economics courses are not included in the programs of most public school students. Formal exposure to economic ideas must therefore come in other courses. (2) Specific courses in geography, or courses with a strong geographic orientation, are almost invariably included in students' programs. These courses usually appear from the fourth through sixth grades and again as part of the junior high school curriculum. Further, such an orientation is also possible for portions of both the eleventh-grade United States history course and the twelfth-grade problems course. (3) The location in space of many items significant to geographers is fully explainable only in terms of economic forces. Although the areal distribution of natural resources may be given by forces other than economic, the distribution of those actually used and the distribution of persons, businesses, and cities not narrowly tied to them are explainable only in economic terms.

Thus, a person interested in the effective presentation of economic ideas in the public schools finds few economics courses, a larger number of geography courses, and the need to use economic ideas to explain the distribution in space of phenomena in which geography is interested. Such a person is immediately concerned with identifying the economic concepts required for such an explanation and with specifying the mech-

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* This item draws heavily on the author's "Teaching Economic Concepts Through Geography," *Councilor*, 21 (March 1960), 32-42. Indeed, it reproduces much of this prior article, making such modifications as required by subsequent developments and adding additional material.

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anisms whereby, at some point, the student is made aware of the economic ideas learned and of their significance. He is further concerned that this increased preoccupation with the economic be accomplished without significant loss to the effective teaching of geography. The author of this brief article is such an interested person.

The Need for Economic Concepts

Geography courses, or courses with a geographic orientation, necessarily *describe* the spatial distribution of selected phenomena; that is, land masses, bodies of water, rivers, minerals, temperature and rainfall characteristics, agricultural outputs, manufacturing plants, towns and cities, and the like. These courses should also *explain* the reasons for the described distribution. Some explanations will be found in the natural sciences within which the development of the present physical characteristics of the earth are systematically presented. Other explanations will be found in the social sciences within which—given the existing physical environment—the location of people and their activities are systematically worked out.

Explanations found in the social sciences importantly include those found in economics. These economic explanations strongly contribute to an understanding of the location of producing enterprises—and hence of the workers and their families required thereby. In the U.S. and in many other countries these explanations are predominantly in terms of personal striving for higher, rather than lower, incomes. Individual decision-makers (businessmen, consumers, workers, capital-suppliers, etc.) are seen as responding as they see fit to price alternatives determined in the market place. Equipped with a reasonable knowledge of alternatives, these decision-makers are seen as moving to those activities in those locations which yield higher incomes. The spatial distribution of economic activities, and hence of people, is thus both an important part of the concern of geography and within the purview of economics.

It is not claimed, however, that the location of all activities and persons perfectly reflects income-maximizing adjustments. Of course, some individuals (1) may prefer familiar ways, persons and communities to higher incomes in strange or distant places, (2) may not recognize income increasing opportunities, or (3) may not be strongly motivated by the lures of higher monetary rewards. However, the economic viewpoint does hold that individuals will insist on a minimum income level and move to activities and locations necessary to provide it—a fact sufficient in itself to explain much movement. The economic viewpoint further holds that many decision-makers are, in fact, sufficiently free of community and family ties (e.g., the well-educated, well-financed young), sufficiently well-informed (by employment agencies, guidance specialists, and hiring firms needing labor), and sufficiently motivated by monetary lures (in a pecuniary society) so that enough movement is obtained to give the U.S. economy its special characteristics and to set its spatial distribution of activities and people. There is, further, ample empirical evidence to support this view.

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Of course, the locations of enterprises and people in centrally planned economies will not be responsive to individual responses to market lures. They will reflect the decisions of government officials. But these officials will be seeking greater outputs of desired goods from existing resources —a greater aggregate income—and will need to locate enterprises to achieve it, a process not wholly unlike the maximizing processes of individuals—and a process also studied by economists.

The Specific Application of Economic Concepts

A course oriented to geography will properly describe the natural resource characteristics of that part of the earth's surface under study and will explain these characteristics in terms of content drawn from the relevant physical sciences. It will also properly describe the spatial distribution of social phenomena and will explain this distribution in terms of content drawn from the relevant social sciences, taking due account of natural resource locations.[1] Economics will account for an important part of this distribution of social phenomena. Specifically, how will it do so?

A General Analysis

Economists start with certain data: (1) the location of natural resources (as described by geographers); (2) consumer tastes (i.e., the wants, needs and desires of consumers as evidenced in the market place via the number of units of each product desired at each possible price); (3) technical data (i.e., the engineering relationships between inputs required and outputs forthcoming) which strongly influence the costs of production of each product and the size of individual producers. Given this information, economists have developed analytical techniques for deriving the demand for, and costs of production of, each possible product at each possible location. On the basis of these demand and cost data, and assuming that businessmen prefer higher to lower profits, it is possible to specify for each producer (1) that product which yields the greatest relative return on time, talent and property employed, (2) that volume of output which yields the highest profit, and (3) that location which maximizes returns. Further, since businessmen can—and will —pay more for resources, both human and material, where profits are high, resources will move to lines of activity in locations offering profits. And, of course, it is clearly recognized that decisions are interrelated so that a shift in the volume or location of one activity will change demand and costs—and, hence, volume and location—for another.

These techniques allow economists to note that the volume and make-up of economic (business) activity will vary from place to place over the

[1] These statements might be held to suggest that all "explanations" fall outside the realm of geography. However, they might equally be held to suggest that geography "carves" these explanations out of other disciplines and embraces them. In either case, it might be held properly to concern itself with correlations between the spatial distributions of the various phenomena studied.

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earth's surface with concomitant (in many cases, resultant) variations in the density and composition of population. Since the spatial distribution of many other phenomena (e.g., housing, transport media, juvenile delinquency, recreation facilities, etc.) are functionally related to either or both economic activity and population, these techniques allow indirect indications of the locations of these other phenomena.

Economists note that some enterprises locate near certain natural resources when the costs of transporting the extracted resources are high relative to the costs of moving products fabricated therefrom. They note that some other businesses locate near, or in, population centers when the costs of moving necessary input is low relative to the costs of moving products fabricated therefrom. They note that some businesses, using more than one input coming from more than one location or selling their products in more than one market, may not be located at either a materials location or population center when transport costs are minimized at some "in-between" location. They note that there are tendencies for many producers to locate near both suppliers and customers to minimize transport costs and to facilitate intercommunication. They note that the resultant agglomeration may itself spell high-wage, site and tax costs in urban centers and encourage a movement to outlying areas of industries for whom transport cost disadvantages do not grow too rapidly. They note that the number of customers, or size of area served, increases or decreases as technological changes modify that size of firm which allows the achievement of minimum costs—changes which modify the location of producing firms. These, and other factors are noted by economists as underlying the location of economic activities and their composition at any given location.

Partial Analysis

It must be admitted, however, that a general solution to the spatial distribution of economic activities is likely to be highly simplified and hypothetical. There are simply too many different activities influenced by too many different factors for economists to handle all of them empirically at the same time. As a consequence, hypothetical situations are defined in which consequences are logically worked out. The process by which economic activities are located is thus illuminated and their more important expected characteristics presented. But the result is still overabstract for many purposes.

Therefore, much economic analysis purporting to explain the spatial distribution of economic activities simply deals in greater empirical detail with a single activity, or a single area. It takes the location of other activities, the economic composition of other areas, as both given and unaffected by changes in the activity or area under study. The activity, or area, under study is "explained" in terms of the rest of the economy taken as given. This type of analysis is termed "partial."

These partial analyses include the following: (1) studies accounting for the location of a specific activity (industry)—wheat farming, steel production, retail food stores, etc.; (2) studies accounting for the specific

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composition of economic activity in particular cities or regions—the reasons why one city specializes in a certain type of manufacturing activity while another offers retail services over a wide area, the reasons why one region specializes in corn-hog production while another specializes in the fabrication of steel and products made of steel, and the like; (3) studies accounting for the development of urban centers at particular locations—specifying the reasons for agglomeration at certain points in space.

These partial analyses can be—and are—reasonably complete and embrace most of the important factors underlying the location of a specific activity or the make-up of a particular area. They are complete and concrete where the general analyses are simplified and hypothetical. However, they do not provide a systematic treatment of mutual interrelationships among activities and areas. Attempts to remedy this defect have given rise to still another application of techniques used by economists to the explanation of the areal distribution of social activities.

Interindustry Relations Studies

The techniques referred to in the preceding two sections explain the location of economic activities in space and thereby account for differences therein from place to place, or from area to area. These activities, however, are not separate and discrete, but parts of sequences, or "strings," of activities in which one activity buys inputs from others and sells outputs to still others. Obviously, what happens at any point in such a sequence influences what happens to all other activities in that sequence. Economics includes systematic statements of such sequential relationships, of such interindustry relations.

These systematic statements allow economists to explain changes in some economic activities, changes at some points or in some areas, in terms of what has happened in others. Thus, economists can explain a decline in the production of military vehicles, and a resultant decline in activity in a city or state specialized therein, in terms of a shift in military needs. Similarly, they can account for stability in one activity and its specialized area of production while another activity and its specialized area of production grows in terms of differing responses of demand to growth in per capita income in market areas. They can note regularities in response of various activities to the vicissitudes of the business cycle and thereby project the area consequences of the cycle. Or, they can note the consequences on activities and areas of changes in techniques of production which change both the composition of necessary inputs and, via changes in costs and prices, the volume of product which buyers will take.

Usefulness in Geography Courses—Elementary Grades

The foregoing pages present a rather formidable indication of the content of economics as it relates to the spatial distribution of social phenomena. But how can this content be applied in the usual context of courses actually offered in the public schools?

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Economic motivation (incentives). As a child first looks at any geographic area, including his own community, he is properly led to note that employed persons undertake particular, specialized tasks in specific, specialized enterprises (both private and public). Why do individuals select some jobs rather than others? Why do enterprises develop to produce some goods and services rather than others? These are important, basic questions to both geography *and* economics.

At this point, the student can be introduced to the idea of individual response to market alternatives to maximize—or, alternatively, to obtain an acceptable level of—income. Individuals are seen as desiring higher incomes to provide their families with better food, housing, medical care, education, etc. These higher incomes can also be seen as desirable to support, should the individual desire to do so, voluntary organizations undertaking a variety of scientific, educational, religious and charitable work. Desiring higher incomes, they can be seen as moving, both functionally and geographically, toward those positions yielding higher incomes. The ability to move to such positions is seen as depending upon knowledge of the existence of higher-paying alternatives, upon ability to meet skill and educational qualifications necessary to perform the job, and upon the degree of willingness to make the necessary changes.

Since much modern economics is built on the observation that individuals generally react in ways contrived to yield higher, rather than lower, incomes, it is important that this be demonstrated early. Almost the first look at a geographic area—or community—provides an opportunity to do so.

The organization of economic enterprises. Students will immediately recognize, however, that most individuals do not work alone (i.e., that they are not self-employed). They will note that, instead, they work in groups (in businesses, in schools and hospitals, in government units, etc.). Again, why—and with what consequences?

At this point, the student can be introduced to the idea that specialized individuals working cooperatively in an organized group can produce a greater joint output, and hence a higher joint income, than they could working as individuals. They will note that some private individuals, recognizing this possibility, will undertake to organize these groups in return for a portion of this higher income. These organizers will be businessmen and the results of their activity will be private enterprises. In other cases, the organizers will be private individuals seeking service, not personal income, who organize hospitals, colleges, or charitable enterprises. In still other cases, they will be government officials developing government units to produce goods or to provide desired services.

In any case, the enterprises—private for profit, private for service, or government—can be seen as resulting from the desire of individuals to seek higher incomes rather than lower. Such a recognition of enterprises thus can deepen and broaden an understanding of income incentives.

The use of nonlabor resources. It is not a difficult matter to induce

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even very young students to note that individuals produce more—and enjoy higher incomes—when, in their work, they are not only educated and skilled but well-equipped with materials, supplies, tools and equipment with which to work. Furthermore, students will readily note that individuals who possess the necessary natural resources, tools, and equipment will wish to sell the services thereof—just as they sell their personal services—at higher prices, rather than lower. They will note that sometimes individuals will give, rather than sell, some of these resources to some kinds of enterprises—hospitals, schools, etc.—and forgo income on them. They will note that, in still other cases, government will own these resources, tools and equipment, choosing either to earn an income on their use or to make them available without a price (thus subsidizing those who realize a higher income through their use).

Insofar as these resources are available in some places rather than others, workers and enterprises who require these resources to work effectively can locate only where these resources are available. Thus the geographic distribution of resources also determines in part the geographic distribution of jobs and enterprises.

The student can also now be introduced to the fact that individuals will have income not just from their own work but from the resources, tools and equipment that they own. Differences in incomes resulting from differences in property ownership as well as from differences in knowledge and skills—and a willingness to move to areas of higher income—can now be demonstrated.

Ideas of capital accumulation can also be simply introduced. If people can have higher incomes as a result of owning more resources, tools and equipment, they might well be motivated to reduce consumption in order to buy additional stocks of such tools and equipment. Thus, the ideas of saving and investment may be introduced.

Specialization. Once individuals are seen as seeking higher income and thus holding specialized jobs in—and furnishing specialized resources, tools and equipment to—specialized enterprises, then it is desirable to indicate some of the consequences of this specialization. It can be noted that specialized persons and enterprises produce goods and services for money, money which the individuals and enterprises now have available to buy the goods and services produced by other specialized units. It can be noted that this specialization allows larger incomes arising out of expanded production.

However, it should be pointed out that this specialization also means dependence. The specialized person, producing only a very small portion of the goods and services he requires, will be dependent upon others for meeting his needs. Since he is unlikely to know most of these other people or to deal with them directly, he is dependent upon a system—an economic system—for relating himself effectively to them.

The nature and consequences of specialization can be spelled out at several levels. At the level of the individual, the specialized nature of the output of his work or of the resources he furnishes can be noted and the generalized nature of his consumption shown. At the level of the enterprise, the specialized nature of the product produced can be noted while

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the enterprise is seen as assembling labor and materials from many sources while distributing income from the sale of products to individuals supplying their services and their resources and who buy a great variety of goods and services out of such income. At the level of the place (or economic region), it can be seen as specializing in the production of a limited number of products produced by its enterprises, assembling materials from many places to produce these products, while sending its specialized products back in exchange therefore.

By Grade Level

Second grade. Social studies at this level frequently introduce the child to the facts of occupational-industrial diversity in the community. This introduction—via units on "What Daddy Does," "Community Helpers," or descriptions of, and visits to, interesting local activities—is of interest to both geographers and economists. The geographer is interested in an approach which stresses that different communities in different locations will provide different jobs. The economist is interested in an approach that (1) links job selection to possible incomes, incomes which are used to buy things necessary for a comfortable life, and (2) links output to the education and skills of the worker and the quantity and quality of machines and tools he has to work with. That is, the economist wishes the child to see that workers produce something that someone wishes to buy, that as a result they earn money to buy things produced by others, and that how workers do things changes and how much they produce grows with more and better skill, education, tools and machines.

Third grade. In this grade, a part of the social studies period is frequently devoted to the study of means of transportation. Unfortunately, this study is frequently little more than a description of air, rail, bus or ship travel. Both the geographer and the economist have a stake in making it much more. They wish the child to see that workers in the community work largely within business firms to produce the community's specialized goods which are sold to customers outside the community to get the income by which the community buys specialized goods produced outside the community. They want the child to see that this specialization depends upon the existence of efficient transportation. Economists want it emphasized that the kind of specialized activity existing in a community is that which offers a monetary reward to those undertaking it.

Fourth, fifth and sixth grades. In these grades, a specific commitment to geography is common. Conventionally, this commitment is met via a region-by-region study of the United States and selected foreign countries. For each region physical and social characteristics are carefully catalogued or described. Some attempt is made at explanation of these characteristics. The economist is interested that reasonable attention be given to explanations of the spatial distribution of social phenoma, particularly of economic activities, and the resultant distribution of population and cities and variations in their make-up. Portions of economic analysis, as outlined earlier in this article, can be drawn upon as appropriate to student abilities to this end.

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A specific illustration is desirable at this point. Suppose the region under study is the southeastern United States. In addition to the usual description of the area, the vast changes which have convulsed the area in recent years can be presented—the shift in agriculture from cotton to grass and cattle, the growth in nationally oriented textile, apparel and chemical industries, and the growth in manufacturing for regional markets. Questions can be raised as to why these changes have occurred, emphasizing changes in profit potentials in the light of changing market conditions. Relationships of this region to the rest of the nation and the world in the light of resulting trade can be specified. The region can be seen as the developing product of its necessary participation in a functioning national or worldwide economic system.

Or, when the region in which the student's school is located comes under scrutiny, his study can be personalized. Students can be asked to identify the specialized activities of their own community, why this specialization occurs, and what changes have historically occurred with respect to it. They can be asked to identify the source of materials and supplies brought into the community to allow its specialized activity. They can be asked to identify the nature and location of customers for their community's specialized outputs. They can be asked to project future changes in the light of the situations facing suppliers or customers. They can be asked the extent to which their community is like the rest of the region and to account for differences.

Usefulness in Geography Courses—Junior and Senior High

Important Ideas

Deepening the analysis. Much of the material referred to for inclusion in the elementary grades will necessarily be dealt with there in preliminary, partial and perhaps oversimplified ways. The same topics can be dealt with in the later high school grades in more complete and sophisticated ways. Examples might include the following: (1) Seeing enterprises in more specific and precise ways involving the computation of profits at given price and output levels, moving to an explanation of the factors leading to changes in the prices of both inputs (labor, materials, etc.) and products based on demand supply analysis and changes in technology, and then moving to note the impact of such changes on the composition and level of economic activity in specific enterprises and geographic areas. (2) Providing a more complete description and analysis of the processes of saving, investment and capital flows, including the relationships of money and credit creation to these flows. (3) Adding the special considerations arising in international trade, including considerations of multiple currencies and the rates at which they exchange, and of tariffs and other national restrictions on the free movements of goods and people.

The specific inclusion of distance as a variable. At elementary levels, natural resources will be seen as unevenly available geographically, giving rise to specific economic activities varying from area to area, depend-

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ing upon the quantity and quality of such resources. At the junior high level, it ought to be possible to note more specifically, that the value of such resources depends upon their location with respect to markets; the farther from markets—and thus the larger the transport costs of such resources or the products in which they are embodied—the lower the value of such resources until, as a limit, they become valueless and hence unused.

The location of economic activity. At this point, it should be possible to indicate that the profitability of an enterprise producing any particular product will depend upon the location of that enterprise. This will be the case inasmuch as product and input prices—as well as transport costs—reflect alternative locations. It can thus be pointed out that some activities will produce profits in some locations, but not in others. It can be pointed out, that as conditions change, some activities will disappear in some locations while growing in others.

An economic system. At this point, the student should be ready for a simple exposition outlining the economic system and its interrelationships. I would suggest a version of the system presented in *How the American Economy Is Organized: A Primer of Economics, No. 2* (a document prepared for senior high school use but which can be adapted by the teacher for use at lower grade levels).[2] Such a "systematic approach" to the presentation of the system should now allow the student to see the system as a whole.

Levels of economic activity. Once the system is presented as a whole, it will be possible to indicate reasons for changes in the composition of output or for levels of employment and output. And once these matters are presented, it can be noted that any region—or geographic area—will be greatly affected by the overall performance of—by overall changes in—the economy. Thus, a concern with the well-being of specific areas must also be a concern with the well-being of the economy as a whole.

Summary. Thus, I see development during the high school years as broadening and deepening the understandings first obtained in the elementary years, then extending these understandings into a total system, and seeing the performance of individual regions in terms of that total system.

By Course

During one or more of the seventh, eighth and ninth grades, the student may well be confronted with a specific geography course. It is likely again to be organized by region. Comments given immediately above are again appropriate. With more mature students, (1) simple profit and loss calculations can be made showing in more detail the forces at work in determining the nature and size of business operations; (2) a more abstract analysis of factors giving rise to locational changes can be introduced; (3) simple facts and figures on employment, population and in-

[2] Bureau of Business and Economic Research, College of Business Administration, State University of Iowa, 1961

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come can be introduced; and (4) governmental activities can be more extensively dealt with.

History courses. History can be usefully, although only partially, seen through the prism of differential rates of change—including economic change—from geographic area to geographic area. Thus, the history of the United States is to an important extent a history first of the growth of the New World and related to changes in Europe and then of the growth of the West and a change in the content and nature of economic activity in the East related to this growth. Similarly, changes through history in the relative position of countries on the international scene is in some measure a consequence of a growth in the importance of resources of some areas (i.e., oil in Saudi Arabia)—or the skill of areas in devising a better system for their use (i.e., the skills of the Japanese)—coupled with declines in some resources or in the relative skill in which they are used in other areas. Viewed in this way, there is a high geographic content in history courses. History courses thus allow one to see geographic developments resting in part on economic phenomena as they work themselves out in the historical development of regions and countries.

The problems course. Topics of geographic-economic significance which might be profitably dealt with here would certainly include the following:

First, a unit entitled "Economic Analysis of the Community." This unit will serve four purposes: (1) Provide meaningful, objective detail on the economy of the community and sources of information on it; (2) summarize, broaden and refine concepts presented earlier in the student's experience dealing with the reasons for the spatial differentiation of economic activity; (3) furnish an attractive entree into the broader study of economics; and (4) provide the analytical and factual base upon which to build a discussion of the development needs of the community.

A suggested outline for this unit is appended to this article. Note that it (1) emphasizes again the specialization of economic activity in response to market forces; (2) provides time for use of secondary data and the development of primary data relating to the manufacturing component of the economy, these data being used in assigning reasons for the existing community specialization; (3) summarizes the entire local economy; (4) relates the economy to agriculture and to changes occurring therein; (5) evaluates prospects for growth via manufacturing development in the light of both the local situation and the nation's economy; (6) notes that local well-being depends on the nation's economic health—thus suggesting a discussion of factors relating to this overall well-being; and (7) suggests the importance to the local scene of worldwide economic developments. The unit thus uses an analysis of the local area and its inevitable economic contacts with the rest of the nation and the world as a realistic and interest-catching wedge into the whole area of economic study while providing a basis for dealing with community development programs.

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Second, a unit dealing with "Planning Growth and Change in Less-Developed Countries." This unit could examine a less-developed country as a specific geographic area (like the community dealt with above), then ask the class to constitute itself as a planning agency and to look toward the identification of opportunities for future growth. It could also be asked to indicate the people and institutions which would need to be organized and trained if these opportunities were to be seized.

Third, a unit might be organized dealing with the causes and consequences of a more rapid worldwide growth in demand than in supply for feed grains. Impacts on grain prices, overall price levels, relative well-being from country to country, efforts to expand production and to reduce population growth, etc., would be both important and interesting.

Finally—ignoring many other possibilities—a unit dealing with occupational choice might be most attractive. Students could be asked to use economic analysis to identify activities likely to be advantageous and in what locations while then moving to a discussion of desirable individual adjustments in education, job selection, and choice of place to live and work.

Appendix

An Outline of a Proposed Unit*

"The Economic Analysis of the Community"

SESSION NUMBER 1

Topic: *The Idea of Specialization*
Description: In this session, it will be pointed out that—in a price-directed economy—individuals, business firms, and communities specialize. Each individual, each business enterprise, will tend to that activity which maximizes income. Geographic areas will be viewed as specialist in those activities which its individuals and businessmen find most profitable.

SESSION NUMBER 2

Topic: *The Consequences of Specialization*.
Description: Specialized individuals, business firms, and communities

*This outline implicitly assumes a community embracing considerable manufacturing activity but located in, and providing services to, a surrounding agricultural area. It will obviously have to be modified in detail for communities with a different economic base.

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are necessarily dependent upon (1) other specialists for the other goods which they require, and (2) a mechanism for dependably relating them to these other specialists. The price-market system provides this dependable mechanism. Further, however, their positions reflect changes in the position, tastes, and capacities of other specialists with whom they deal.

SESSION NUMBER 3—8

Topic: *The Specialized Manufacturing Activities of the Community*
Description: Students should determine the kinds of specialized manufacturing activities existing in the community and the reasons therefore. They should note recent changes and likely changes in the near future. This can be done via (1) a careful study of existing sources, and (2) a questionnaire developed with the cooperation of local manufacturers and completed during a personal interview.
Questionnaire emphasis should be on the identification of required inputs and the location of markets in which they are acquired and of resultant outputs and the location of customers. Extra time may be taken to summarize results for presentation to local service clubs and other groups.

SESSION NUMBER 9—11

Topic: *The Specialized Trade and Service Activities of the Community*
Description: A community will specialize in the furnishing of services to surrounding areas as well as in the fabrication of manufactured goods. These services should also be identified in a fashion analogous to that specified for manufacturing above, except that time may be saved by bringing a few businessmen to class rather than via the questionnaire technique.

SESSION NUMBER 12—13

Topic: *Other Activities*
Description: In addition to economic activities yielding a good or service for sale elsewhere, each community will embrace activities yielding a good or service for local use. What activities are of this type? How important are they to the community? Is their volume increasing or decreasing? Why?

SESSION NUMBER 14

Topic: *A Summary of the Community's Activities*
Description: The total economy of the community should be summarized during this session.

SESSION NUMBER 15—19

Topic: *Agriculture—And Its Relationships to the Community*
Description: The community will no doubt find that it (1) uses inputs furnished by the surrounding farm area, and (2) finds some of its customers in this area. Observers of the community will now wish

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to note (1) the type of agricultural products produced by its hinterland, why these products are produced rather than others, and prospective changes in products, (2) such changes in farm enterprises as have affected—or will affect—incomes and demands for community-produced goods and (3) the impact of governmental activities related to agriculture.

SESSION NUMBER 20—22

Topic: *Manufacturing in the Community Compared to That in the State, Region, and Nation*

Description: Manufacturing activity in a community will vary from that of the state, region, or nation in terms of (1) its relative importance to all components of the economy, (2) its composition, and (3) rate of growth. These sessions should, therefore, compare the community with broader areas in terms of these characteristics and account for apparent differences.

SESSION NUMBER 23—24

Topic: *Growth Via Industrial Growth*

Description: Previous sessions will have accounted for the location of manufacturing activity in the community and for differences as between the community and the broader area of which it is a part. Given this knowledge, what are the possibilities for expanded activity? What organization for growth is required?

SESSION NUMBER 25—26

Topic: *Income Developments and Population Change*

Description: Levels of income and population in a community are intimately tied to economic developments. These ties should be spelled out in these sessions.

SESSION NUMBER 27—28

Topic: *The Community and Changes in the National Level of Economic Activity*

Description: Industries vary widely in their responses to changes in business conditions. Some slump badly during recessions—others do not. A community with industries hurt badly will itself suffer decline. Is the particular community being studied of this type—or is it relatively insensitive to depression? In either case, can the community insulate itself from nationwide developments? If not, how can nationwide stability be obtained?

SESSION NUMBER 29—30

Topic: *The Community and the World*

Description: Worldwide changes have an impact on economic conditions in the nation and in individual communities. What is this impact on the community being studied?

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*Suggestions for Further Reading and Reference**

Two of the pamphlets in the Joint Council's Economic Topics series can be used in relating economics to geography. These are:

Marshall R. Colberg, *The Economics of the Oceans*. 1971. 18pp. Checklist No. 141. Price: $1.25 for single copy with "Teach About" section; $9.00 for classroom set of 30. Accompanying filmstrip with record or cassette (Checklist No. 166) available for $14.50 or $16.50 (cassette).

Harold Wolozin, *The Economics of Pollution*. 1970. 18pp. Checklist No. 122. Price: $1.00 for single copy with "Teach About" section. Accompanying filmstrip with record or cassette (Checklist No. 168) available for $14.50 or $16.50 (cassette).

Several basic books in economic geography are available for teachers and students of superior academic ability. Among these are the following:

Fred E. Dohrs and Lawrence M. Sommers, Editors, *Economic Geography: Selected Readings*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1970. $4.95 (paperbound).

Paul F. Griffin, *et al.*, *Culture, Resource and Economic Activity: An Introduction to Economic Geography*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971. $10.95.

Robert B. McNee, *A Primer on Economic Geography*. New York: Random House, 1971. $2.75 (paperbound).

Richard S. Thoman, *et al.*, *The Geography of Economic Activity*, 2nd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968, $12.90.

There are many works of a somewhat more specialized nature that can be used as reference material when teaching economic concepts in geography courses. Some books dealing with agriculture are:

Margaret Capstick, *The Economics of Agriculture*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970. $9.95.

Harold D. Guither, *Heritage of Plenty: A Guide to the Economic History and Development of U.S. Agriculture*, 2nd ed. Danville, Ill.: The Interstate Printers & Publishers, 1972. $4.95 (paperbound).

Ewell P. Roy, Floyd L. Corty, and Gene D. Sullivan, *Economics: Applications to Agriculture and Agribusiness*. Danville, Ill.: The Interstate Printers & Publishers, 1971. $7.95.

*These suggestions are prepared by members of the Joint Council staff.

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Most children and young people are concerned about conservation of natural resources. Among the many books on this topic are:

Marion Clawson, *America's Land and its Uses*. Washington: The Johns Hopkins Press for Resources for the Future, Inc., 1972. $2.45 (paperbound). (Suitable for college undergraduates.)

The Conservation Story. Columbus, Ohio: American Education Publications, 1969. 40¢ (paperbound). (For secondary school pupils.)

C. William Harrison, *Conservation: The Challenge of Reclaiming our Plundered Land*. New York: Julian Messner, 1973. $5.95. (For upper elementary and secondary pupils.)

P.E. McNall and Harry B. Kircher, *Our Natural Resources*, 3rd ed. Danville, Ill.: The Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1970. $5.25. (Secondary level.)

David R. Michelsohn, *The Oceans in Tomorrow's World: How Can We Use and Protect Them?* New York: Julian Messner, 1972. $4.95. (Upper elementary and junior high school levels.)

Reed Millard, *et al., Natural Resources: Will We Have Enough for Tomorrow's World?* New York: Julian Messner, 1972. $4.50. (Junior high school level.)

Frances C. Smith, *The First Book of Conservation*. New York: Franklin Watts, 1954. $3.95. (For elementary school pupils.)

D. Strong, *The Conservationists*. Menlo Park, Cal.: Addison-Wesley, 1971. $1.62 (paperbound). (For secondary level pupils.)

Public interest in environmental pollution in recent years has resulted in an outpouring of books and materials on this subject. Advice for teachers is contained in the following:

Larry L. Sale and Ernest W. Lee, *Environmental Education in the Elementary School*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972. $4.95.

Cornelius Troost and Harold Altman, Editors, *Environmental Education is Every Teacher's Responsibility*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1972. $11.95.

U.S. Bureau of Land Management, *All Around You: An Environmental Study Guide*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971. $1.50.

The following list is but a small sample of the existing publications on the environment:

Claude F. Anderson and William C. Ramsay, *Managing the Environment: An Economic Primer*. New York: Basic Books, 1972. $7.50.

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Thomas Aylesworth, *Our Polluted World*. Columbus, Ohio: American Education Publications, 1972. 40¢ (paperbound). (For secondary school pupils.)

Joe S. Bain, *Environmental Decay: Economic Causes and Remedies*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1973. $4.95 (paperbound).

Michael J. Brenner, *The Political Economy of America's Environmental Dilemma*. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1974. $12.00.

Sterling Brubaker, *To Live on Earth: Man and His Environment in Perspective*. Washington, D.C.: Resources for the Future, 1972. $6.95. (Also published by Mentor, 1972. $1.50, Paperbound.)

Duane Chapman and Robert V. O'Neill, *Ecology and Resource Economics*. Springfield, Va.: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 1970. $3.00 (paperbound).

Matthew Edel, *Economics and the Environment*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973. $2.95 (paperbound).

Environmental Protection Agency, *Your World, My World: A Book for Young Environmentalists*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972. $1.50 (paperbound). (Secondary level.)

A. Myrick Freeman, III, Robert H. Haveman and Allen V. Knesse, *The Economics of Environmental Policy*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973. $6.95.

Marshall I. Goldman, Editor, *Ecology and Economics: Controlling Pollution in the 70's*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972. $2.95 (paperbound).

Carl Marzani, *The Wounded Earth*. Menlo Park, Cal.: Addison-Wesley, 1972. $5.95 (Secondary level.)

Lawrence J. Pauline and Howard Weishaus, *Ecology: Man's Relationship to His Environment*. New York: Oxford Book Co., 1971. $1.50 (paperbound). (Junior high school level.)

Donald Savage, *et al.*, *Economics of Environmental Improvement*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974. $4.50 (paperbound).

Joseph L. Seneca and Michael K. Taussig, *Environmental Economics*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974. $10.95.

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Urban Development: Key Economic Concepts

Benjamin Chinitz

Introduction

The study of urban development and urban problems provides a very fertile field, indeed, for the elucidation and illustration of some fundamental economic concepts. By the same token, a proper understanding of the role of economic forces in shaping urban development calls for a solid grasp of these economic principles. Thus, the study of economics in the context of urban development is beneficial both in terms of expanding the student's understanding of economics and in terms of enhancing his grasp of intricate urban phenomena.

I will concentrate on four key economic concepts which are absolutely indispensable in achieving a proper understanding of urban development. They are:

1. Resource allocation
2. Economies of scale
3. External economies and diseconomies
4. Specialization and the division of labor

Resource Allocation

In conventional economics we are quick to establish the proposition that resources are scarce in relation to human needs and human demands for the goods and the services produced by these resources. Since we cannot have everything we want, we must choose from among the infi-

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into list of needs and wants those which will command resources and the degree to which they will command resources. Thus we establish the foundation for "**Resource allocation**" as the principal function of the economic system.

However, in the typical textbook treatment of this key concept, the resources which are identified as being scarce are labor, capital and natural endowments such as coal, oil, fertile soil, timber, etc. Rarely, if ever, do we include in this list of scarce resources **SPACE**, because in the absence of urbanization it is assumed that there is sufficient **SPACE** on the earth's surface to accommodate all of man's needs, at least in the foreseeable future.

Once we introduce the reality of urbanization as the predominant form of settlement in advanced societies, **SPACE** emerges as a critical scarce factor which needs to be "allocated" by the same principles and mechanisms which govern the allocation of other resources. Of course, if we think of **SPACE** as "land," then there is a critical difference between **SPACE** and other resources. Whereas prices which serve to allocate other resources also serve as an incentive to increase the supply of these resources, in the case of **SPACE** when viewed as land, prices or "rents" serve only the purpose of allocating the existing supply, but do not serve to call forth additional supply since the supply is fixed by nature.

But this distinction evaporates once we take a broader view of **SPACE** to include not just land in its raw form, but "area" for the accommodation of activities. We can create "area" just as we can create usable manpower, capital equipment and fertile soil. Thus, rents in the urban context serve not only to allocate the existing supplies of **SPACE**, but also serve as an inducement to add to the supply of **SPACE** through the construction of tall buildings as well as the construction of highways which open up new areas for development.

Hence, much of our understanding of urban development turns on this rather fundamental notion of resource allocation in which **SPACE** emerges as the critical scarce resource. As I said at the outset, I can't think of a better way to convey the notion of scarcity even in a general treatment of economics. By the same token, a book which deals with urban development and urban problems must use this concept from standard economics and breathe new life into it by emphasizing **SPACE** as a scarce resource.

Economies of Scale

Why create an artificial scarcity of **SPACE**? Why cities? The gut response of the trained economist is "Economies of scale." Once again we are dealing with a concept which is developed with great care in conventional economics in the context of the individual firm. If the average cost of production falls, the greater the volume of output, we say that the particular process is characterized by economies of scale. In the absence of economies of scale, we would be hard put indeed to explain the emergence of a market system or any other form of economic

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organization which calls for different people and different institutions doing different things. If you could produce one copy of one textbook as cheaply as you could produce thousands of copies of hundreds of textbooks, you wouldn't be earning your livelihood as editors and publishers of textbooks.

The recognition of the key role of economies of scale in understanding the rationale for a modern economy does not usually include an understanding of the role of the economies of scale in the rationale for cities and urbanization as the predominant form of settlement. The transition from one to the other can be simplified if we think in terms of a single firm which has such overwhelming economies of scale that all the production is concentrated in one place and by itself creates such a substantial concentration of population as to qualify for the adjective "urban." This is not a bad way to introduce the notion of economies of scale as a force for urban growth. Historically, it can be illustrated with such cases as steel in Pittsburgh and automobiles in Detroit with the understanding that both cities existed prior to their becoming major centers in these industries.

But the role of economies of scale in generating urbanization is a lot more subtle than that. Urban areas as we know them today are not typically one-company towns. The scale of urban development as we know it cannot be explained in terms of the economies of scale associated with the production of a single commodity. Rather, we have to look for reasons why firms in different industries which are unrelated to each other, either as suppliers or customers, would seek out the same location and would want to be near each other despite the high cost of SPACE and the inconveniences of congestion. Part of the answer lies in economies of scale associated with the provision of services used by many different kinds of industry. My favorite example, and one which I believe to be of crucial importance, is transportation. Historically, economies of scale in water and then in rail transportation made it very profitable for firms in many different kinds of industry to congregate near harbors and rail terminals. The bigger the ships and the longer the trains the greater was the benefit in having a large market both for shipping and receiving freight as well as passengers.

In contemporary circumstances, the airport exercises a similar influence. In the early days of aviation one could think of the airplane as having a decentralizing influence because with the very small aircraft then available you wouldn't need much volume to support air service and with an airplane you could get to a lot of remote places which were inaccessible to both water and rail transportation. But with the technological progress in aviation which has brought us bigger and faster planes, it is only the very largest urban centers which can support schedules which are rich both in terms of frequency of service and numbers of points served by nonstop and direct flights.

Let me try to state the proposition in more general terms. The city is a vehicle for giving full expression to the economies of scale inherent in the provision of the whole range of supporting services which are cru-

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cial to the economic life of both the household and the business establishment in a modern economy. The provision of water, electrical power and telephone services all require heavy capital outlays which must be spread over a large market in order to bring down unit costs. Examples of this principle abound in fields such as education, health, culture, sports, etc. I am sure you can all think of examples just by examining your own experience as consumers if not as producers.

External Economies and Diseconomies

Some of what I have just said under economies of scale overlaps and leads us very directly into the considerations which I subsume under the third heading. By external economies I mean the benefits which accrue to firm "A" from its proximity to firm "B" other than those which arise from their customer-supplier relationships and the sharing of overhead items such as were discussed under my previous heading. External economies were seriously neglected in classical economics because they greatly complicate the analysis of workings of a free competitive market system. External economies undermine the fundamental normative preference for free competitive markets because when there are significant external economies Adam Smith's famous "invisible hand" no longer functions perfectly to equate the search for private profit with the social welfare. If neighbors, whether in business or in residence, profit from each other's outlays or expenditures, then it follows that purely private calculations of benefits and costs will not be properly responsive to social benefits and costs. Left to your own devices, you will not spend as much as we, your neighbors, would like you to since presumably you will not take into account the benefit which you confer on your neighbors.

External economies are perhaps the most unique characteristic of cities. Paradoxically, they play a role in both the private and the public sectors. In the private sector, they serve to lower the unit cost of production in ways which are logically similar to those of economies of scale. Earlier we talked about sharing overhead costs of a kind which would be inescapable even under conditions of certainty and in the absence of risk. When the realities of risk and uncertainty are introduced, there is a very strong incentive to economize on capital in order to avoid making commitments which may prove to be mistakes. But the city offers greater opportunities for economizing on capital by virtue of the close proximity of many firms one to another. For example, an enterprise in isolation might have to invest in its own vehicles whereas an enterprise in the city can rely upon the availability of "for-hire" vehicles. An enterprise in isolation might have to carry a large inventory of supplies and perhaps even a larger working force to shield itself against being caught short in the face of an unexpected increase in sales. In the city, the firm can "beg, borrow or steal" and can, therefore, own small stocks of both materials and labor.

Of course, there is the other side of the coin, namely, diseconomies. Having neighbors is not an unmixed blessing. If we go back to our dis-

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cussion of SPACE, one obvious disadvantage in having neighbors is the inability to expand in face of rising demand and the congestion which is associated with your neighbor's business in addition to your own.

External economies and diseconomies are critical to the role of the public sector in urban areas. Once again, the urban scene provides a very real and important example of a principle which was developed in conventional economics. Here, I have in mind the field of public finance in which the rationale for the existence of government is usually explored in the initial chapters of textbooks in the field. The rationale includes the divergence between private and social calculations of benefit and costs as an abstract concept. In the absence of urbanization, one is strained to come up with realistic illustrations of government activity which can be justified in these terms. On the other hand, the urban scene is replete with examples of externalities which can only be dealt with by the public sector. The fact that local governments in urban areas tend to spend more per capita than local government in rural areas is attributable in large measure to the pervasiveness of externalities.

While we tend to emphasize economies in the private sector and diseconomies in the public sector, it would be a mistake to view the role of the public sector purely in terms of the management of diseconomies. It is true that a lot of government activity is generated by the need to control sanitation, pollution, crime, incompatible land uses, congestion, etc. But that does not exhaust the role of government in relation to externalities in urban areas. On the positive side, the settlement of large populations in high density patterns creates opportunities for collective action which do not exist in rural areas and which can generally be exploited only through governmental mechanisms. Thus, for example we have a much larger stake in the education of our neighbors' children who play with our children than we do in the education of neighbors who live ten miles down the road. Similarly, many cultural and recreation projects could not possibly be undertaken for a small population scattered over a large area and therefore do not show up in the budgets of their local government. To view these kinds of expenditures in the large city as a "burden" in the same sense that we view other forms of public spending is to fail to distinguish between the positive and the negative aspects of urban life.

Specialization and the Division of Labor

A long time ago Adam Smith advanced the well-known theorem that "specialization is limited by the extent of the market." On a national scale, the richer and the more populous the country, the greater is the potential for specialization both in terms of individuals and in terms of organizations. Again I can refer to your trade for illustrative purposes. Esoteric magazines and books require a very large market within which there can be enough demand for each of a great variety of publications. Now when transportation and communication are either irrelevant to the case at hand or so cheap as to be a trivial consideration, then it will be the level of national affluence and population which will determine the

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degree of specialization. But for most goods and services transportation costs, if not communication costs, are not trivial and, therefore, "the extent of the local market," to paraphrase Adam Smith, will determine the degree of specialization. There is a long list of activities ranging over a great variety of fields which are of interest to producers, consumers and workers which are found mainly, if not exclusively, in cities and in many instances only in very large cities. This diversity is both a cause and consequence of urban development.

Suggestions for Further Reading and Reference•

Several items on the Checklist of the Joint Council on Economic Education can be used in teaching about urban economic problems. For the elementary school level, note the following:

> *Economics and Our Community, A Resource Unit for Grades 4, 5 and 6.* 1973. 26pp. Checklist No. 185. $2.00. (Some of the suggested activities may also be suitable for junior high school use.)

Students in senior high school and introductory college economics courses can use several of the Joint Council's Economic Topic pamphlets to acquire a better understanding of some difficult urban problems. These are:

> Sar Levitan and Robbert Taggart, *The Economics of Youth Unemployment.* 1973. 18pp. Checklist No. 163. Price: $1.50 for single copy with "Teach About" section; $11.00 for classroom set of 30.
>
> Lester C. Thurow, *The Economics of Poverty and Racial Discrimination.* 1972. 22pp. Checklist No. 147. Price: $1.50 for single copy with "Teach About" section; $11.00 for classroom set of 29. Accompanying filmstrip with record or cassette (Checklist No. 1651) available for $14.50 or $16.50 (cassette).
>
> Joseph G. Metz, *The Economics of Crime.* 1971. 18pp. Checklist No. 138. Price: $1.25 for single copy with "Teach About" section. Accompanying filmstrip with record or cassette (Checklist No. 1671) available for $14.50 or $16.50 (cassette).

•These suggestions are prepared by members of the Joint Council staff.

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Harold Wolozin, *The Economics of Pollution*. 1970. 18pp. Checklist No. 122. Price: $1.25 for single copy with "Teach About" Section. Accompanying filmstrip with record or cassette (Checklist No. 168) available for $14.50 or $16.50 (cassette).

Educators desiring to increase their own knowledge of urban economics might refer to one or more of the following publications:

Robert L. Bish and Robert J. Kirk, *Economic Principles and Urban Problems*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974.

Douglas M. Brown, *Introduction to Urban Economics*. New York: Academic Press, 1974. $9.95.

Benjamin Chinitz, Ed., *City and Suburb: The Economics of Metropolitan Growth*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Spectrum Books, 1965. $1.95 (paperbound).

Anthony Downs, *Urban Problems and Prospects*. Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1970. $4.50 (paperbound).

H. Wentworth Eldredge, Ed., *Taming Megalopolis*, 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1967. 600pp. each. $2.45 each (paperbound).

The Future of the City. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1974. $3.95 (paperbound).

Ronald E. Grieson, Ed., *Urban Economics: Readings and Analysis*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1973. $6.95 (paperbound).

Werner Z. Hirsch, *Urban Economic Analysis*. New York: McGraw-Hill Economic Handbook Series, 1973. $10.95.

Heinz Kohler, *Economics and Urban Problems*. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Co., 1973. $5.95 (paperbound).

Edwin S. Mills, *Urban Economics*. Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman, 1972. $9.50.

William B. Neenan, *Political Economy of Urban Areas*. Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1972. $4.95 (paperbound).

Robert B. Pettengill and J.S. Uppal, *Can Cities Survive? A Study of Urban Finance*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973. $2.50 (paperbound).

David W. Rasmussen, *Urban Economics*. New York: Harper & Row, 1973. $6.95 (paperbound).

David W. Rasmussen and Charles T. Haworth, Eds., *The Modern City: Readings in Urban Economics*. New York: Harper & Row, 1973. $4.95 (paperbound).

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Wilbur R. Thompson, *A Preface to Urban Economics*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1965. $7.50.

Lowdon Wingo, Jr., Ed., *Cities and Space: The Future Use of Urban Land*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1963. $2.95 (paperbound).

Journal of Urban Economics. Editor: Edwin S. Mills. New York: Academic Press, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 1974. Quarterly, $30 per year. Information regarding individual subscription rates may be obtained from the publishers.

Among the books on urbanism written with the teenage reader in mind are the following:

Constance McLaughlin Green, *The Rise of Urban America*. New York: Harper-Colophon, 1967. $1.60 (paperbound).

Edwin Hoag, *American Cities: Their History and Social Development*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1969. $4.95.

David R. Michelsohn and the Editors of Science Book Associates, *The Cities in Tomorrow's World: Challenges to Urban Survival*. New York: Julian Messner, 1973. $4.50.

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The Social Sciences in Liberal Education*

Nathan Glazer

When we consider the full range of the problems that afflict liberal education in the colleges, the social sciences do not appear to be particularly at a disadvantage. These problems are well known, some have been taken up in other papers at this conference, and I do not mean to devote much time to most of them. They include the conflict with vocational objectives; the overlap with the ever more ambitious offerings of high schools, which deprives the first college year of its impact as something new; the conflict with the organized departments, which tend to establish or to wish to establish their own sequences, and to give little support to general education; the ever present staffing problems that result from the fact that college teachers are trained as specialists and progress as specialists.

By saying I will not discuss these issues I do not suggest in the slightest they are unimportant: They are all key issues which must be resolved if a strong liberal education is to flourish. But in my career as a teacher of the social sciences, one which has encompassed the teaching of courses that have reflected most of the popular approaches to general education in the social sciences of the last decade, I have become personally increasingly aware and increasingly troubled by what I would call the specifically *intellectual* problems of providing a general or liberal education

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based on the contemporary social sciences. To my mind, these specifically intellectual problems are more severe in the social sciences than in the humanities or the natural sciences. And we cannot apparently avoid them whatever the type of approach we develop to introduce college students to the social sciences. As a teacher, I have participated in and helped organize courses that are explicitly interdisciplinary, courses that attempt to deal with great issues, courses that are based on great or important books. I now teach a course on urban social policy that is explicitly problem-oriented and implicitly multidisciplinary. And I am convinced our first problem as social scientists is not that students are seeking job training, or that they lust for the relevant and the sensational (after all, we should do best at providing that), or that the departments are unfriendly, or that the assistant professors are uninterested—it is that we do not *know*, for reasons themselves tied up with the development of the social sciences, what we should teach as a foundation required of any educated person.

Interestingly enough, whenever people get together and discuss the *objectives* of general education, first place—or at least a very important place—is always given to the social sciences. Thus, Professor de Bary points out in his paper that in the Carnegie Commission's report on "The Purposes and the Performance of Higher Education in the United States," general education is defined only twice, once in the words, "acquiring a general understanding of society and the place of the individual within it . . . [including] contact with history and the nature of other cultures" (p. 13) and "broad learning experiences—the provision of opportunities to survey the cultural heritage of mankind, to understand man and society" (p. 68).

Clearly there is here a mandate for the social sciences to play a leading role in general education. But whereas we find that natural scientists have undertaken such great and apparently successful tasks as the reform of the teaching of physics, chemistry, and biology in the high schools and colleges, whereas we find that humanists eagerly play leading roles in any effort to revive or revise general education, we will find that social scientists are almost always the most reluctant to engage themselves. Their distinguished men will not teach introductory courses (as will natural scientists and to a lesser degree humanists), their young men will evade general education, and their leading lights have had little to say about the subject. Of course we must also add that the single most valuable book on general education, to my mind, is Professor Daniel Bell's *The Reforming of General Education*, but I would hazard that humanists would make as strong a claim that he is one of them as social scientists do, and his own range of interests and knowledge makes him unique.

In any case, the existence of this book, which must be the starting point to my mind of any contemporary discussion of general education, does not vitiate my point that the crisis of general education, seen as an educational and intellectual problem, is preeminently the crisis of the social sciences. On the one hand we are summoned by leaders in the field of higher education to provide students with "a general understanding of

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society and the place of the individual within it," to provide opportunities "to survey the cultural heritage of mankind, to understand man and society." On the other hand, those who would appear on the surface best qualified to do this, to whom this summons is addressed, seem most reluctant to answer.

One could give easy but to my mind false answers to explain this situation. One could say, social scientists are lazier than their colleagues and will not apply their minds to the problems of general education. Or one could say, social scientists are more ambitious, and fat with research grants—they will not devote the necessary attention to the teaching of the first and second years in college. (As a social scientist, I will have to admit that research might well bear out these explanations—perhaps it will be found that social scientists *are* lazier, or more ambitious; it is just this difficulty of making relatively well-established assertions that is one of our problems in the social sciences.) Other explanations however make better sense to me. I believe it was Seymour Martin Lipset who pointed out that natural scientists seem more willing to take up tasks in the field of general education—a position as dean, the development of a course, etc.—because their major work is generally done while young. It may also be pointed out that for humanists opportunities for research are more limited, that in any case the urgency of research because of the character and nature of the fields involved is not as marked as it is for the natural and social sciences, and the concentration on a canon of given works means that whether one teaches novices or graduate students one may well be talking about the same thing, which makes the demands of shifting from one level to the other less severe. But what appears to me most compelling in explaining the problem of incorporating the social sciences into general education is the simple fact that our foundations are insecure, we are uncertain what our foundations are, we cannot agree on what should be taught first and what should be taught second, and in the nature of most of the disciplines included in the social sciences it is not likely that we will soon, or ever, overcome these problems.

In contrast to the uncertainty created by these shifting foundations, consider the situation of the natural sciences and the humanities. Whatever the problems in incorporating the natural sciences and the humanities into liberal education—and they are certainly severe—for the most part, *the natural sciences and the humanities cannot be other than they are*. The natural sciences are based on a sequence or hierarchy of secure if changing, laws, theories, concepts. Their relations to their own history and inner disputes must always be secondary to the teaching of the body of established (as of the time) knowledge. As Daniel Bell writes, "science is a self-corrective system of disposing of useless facts" (*Reforming*, p. 175).

And I would argue that the humanities are given a secure base because in the end they are based on a canon, on texts. The canon changes, the texts change, but whether in literature, philosophy, art, or music, there is some clear conception at any given time of what should be known, what should be understood, what should be pondered.

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As one evidence of the *security* of the natural sciences and the humanities as against the social sciences, I would point out that when we see —as we have—a sudden increase in student interest in the natural sciences and humanities, it is *not* because they are suddenly teaching something different, or in a new way. It is because for various reasons—a new interest in career, perhaps a new interest in the exotic and the nonrelevant—students turn to these fields, and when they do they find in them what they expect: rigor and sequential learning in the natural sciences, great works—however they may respond to them—in the humanities. I would argue, too, that teaching in these fields changes *less* than in the social sciences, and in particular that *what is taught* in these fields changes less than in the social sciences. In the social sciences we can see the most radical shifts in what is considered essential to learn in a very short time. In part these shifts are responses to the changing times, student interest, and the interests of social scientists themselves. In the natural sciences and the humanities it is only possible to respond to shifts of student interest by considering how what is already definite and secure can be presented—one cannot abandon astronomy for astrology, the teaching of French literature for instruction in how to travel in France, despite the fact that one may suspect that astrology and travel are of greater interest to students than astronomy and French literature. (One can of course replace Shakespeare with the Beatles, but how often really is that done?) In the social sciences it unfortunately is possible, and even respectable, to respond by literally changing what one teaches: To give up Max Weber for Frantz Fanon, a pluralistic approach to American society and politics for a Marxist one, to replace Western civilization with Eastern, or with African studies.

This chameleon-like character of the contemporary social sciences, one might think, should lead to great student popularity. At times it does; at other times nothing quite seems to work, and the new and the old, the conservative and the radical, the empirical and the theoretical, the relevant and the irrelevant, the disciplinary and the multidisplinary, the committed and the uncommitted, the value-based and the value-free, are all equally in disfavor. I think we are passing through such a time now.

It is my understanding that it is not only at Harvard that we have seen a surprising drop in enrollments in various introductory and general education courses in the social sciences, and an even more surprising loss of favor of certain newer efforts of the social sciences to respond to contemporary concerns, for example, Afro-American studies and urban studies. (Jewish studies seem to be flourishing, but because of their content—Hebrew, texts, history—they are closer to the humanities than to the social sciences, which bears out my general point.) More significant, to my mind, is the student judgment on courses in the social sciences. I have been studying an interesting report from the Dean of Harvard College on the evaluation of courses that enroll large numbers of freshmen by the students in them. About half are general education courses; the rest are introductory courses in various departments. The report summarizes questionnaires distributed to students in classes last spring. They are

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asked to rate the courses along a number of axes, including "dull-stimulating," "clear-incoherent," "time well spent-time wasted." The survey included eleven courses in the social sciences, eleven in the natural sciences, and five in the humanities. The courses in the social sciences were almost uniformly rated more incoherent, duller, and time-wasting than the courses in the natural sciences and humanities. This very modest survey is of course not conclusive—I would like to see others, in other times and places—but I report it because I believe it is representative of what we would find in our universities and colleges around the country, and it conforms with my experience in a number of universities and colleges.

I note too, with interest, that a survey made of the college class of 1961 seven years after their graduation, when the respondents were asked "Are there any courses you wish you had taken which you did not take?" not a single social science subject was listed. The subjects they were sorry they had not taken were: foreign languages, literature, English, creative writing, science, philosophy, art, and art history (*Recent Alumni and Higher Education*, by Joe L. Spaeth and Andrew M. Greeley, cited in William Petersen, "What Remains of Liberal Education?" in *Change* (Summer 1973), p. 47). While it is not easy to fully interpret this response, it is clear that whatever they had of the social sciences did not impel them to wish for any more.

Paradoxically, there is little the natural sciences and humanities can do about student unpopularity—yet at the moment they are popular; there is much that the social sciences can do and do—yet they are at the moment unpopular. But my point is not to argue that it is unfortunate that the social sciences are unpopular. It is to suggest that there is some basis for a student judgment of incoherence and to set the stage for arguing that the problems in integrating the contemporary social sciences into a system of general or liberal education are primarily internal to the social sciences as intellectual enterprises.

Let me first specify the social sciences I have in mind when I argue that intellectual difficulties are at the base of their role in general education. Economics is of course a social science, but its development has been different from sociology, anthropology, and political science. Specifically, economics has developed to the point where it may be appropriately ordered from the elementary to the advanced, presented sequentially, requires increasingly a base of mathematical competence, and thus in these three key respects—as well as others—becomes divorced from sociology, anthropology, and political science, which are the social sciences I principally have in mind in considering the problem of the role of the social sciences in general education.

One indication of both the problem of the social sciences in general and the unique role of economics is to apply the test, Can one conceive of the introductory course in these fields organized so that one is given to students who have had advanced work in the field in high school, another to those who want only as much of the field as is necessary for a liberal education, a third to those who plan to go on to advanced work, a fourth perhaps to the specially gifted in this field? This kind of tracking is now

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quite common in mathematics, physics, and chemistry, and is urged for other fields by Daniel Bell (see Daniel Bell, pp. 202-203, 251). It is even to some modest extent (far more modest than for the sciences) possible in the humanities. But it is very hard to see how it can be done in sociology, anthropology, political science. We have a situation in which there is (apparently) no more elementary and less elementary form of these disciplines, no easy way of distinguishing what freshmen might be taught from what graduate students might be taught. If one studies theory, then Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Parsons, and Merton are as suitable at the beginning as at the end. If one studies specific subject matters, there is no reason why one should begin with stratification, or ethnicity, or marriage and the family, or socialization.

Political science may properly begin with political philosophy, or American government, or international relations, or even, I would guess, studies of voting behavior. Generally, the political science or government department is a collection of subdepartments with these and other interests as primary, and finds great difficulty in establishing what should be a proper introduction to all its semi-independent branches. A common solution these days is to demand three or four introductions, one to each subdepartment, thus carrying the division of the curriculum by the independent departmental powers one step further. Anthropology we know is the science of culture, and clearly the elementary course must deal with this large, elusive, and indeterminate concept. One will find, however, that the graduate level course—insofar as anthropology tries to be theoretical—deals with it also. In contrast, it is possible in economics to track the introductory course—to have one for those who want only a general introduction to economics, to have another for those who want to specialize in it.

In distinguishing economics from the other social sciences, I have already pointed out what I believe to be a key problem for them: *There is no principle, no mechanism, no generally accepted set of concepts at the present time by which we can distinguish the elementary from the more advanced, no way in which we can order the subject.* If we cannot order it, we cannot determine what part of it belongs in the education of the citizen, belongs to general or liberal education. I do not suggest that we cannot so order these fields, or that we have not done so in the past—after all, general education at Columbia, Chicago, perhaps in its early days at Harvard, was such an ordering. But any such effort today has about it something arbitrary. It is for this reason that the efforts to bring sociology, anthropology, and political science into the high school curriculum strike some of us as a terrible idea. If we cannot decide on the introductory course in college, and on the contribution we should make to general education, how can we decide on a curriculum for high schools?

Daniel Bell points out that the pattern of learning in the natural sciences is sequential, in the social sciences that of establishing linkages between one discipline, one field, or one set of concepts and another; that in the humanities is concentric, in which one returns again and again to the same texts or materials with deeper and fuller understanding. Clearly

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there is no problem of ordering from elementary to advanced in the natural sciences (and in economics). But even in the humanities some kind of ordering, if not as organic as that of the natural sciences, is possible, and provides a frame. The ordering principle in the humanities is chronological: there is a before and an after, etc. It is meaningful. One studies a text or a work of art or a philosophy independently but one important way of studying it involves what came before and what came after. And even if one is original and breaks history or literature with the moderns, it is always implied that one does so to work one's way back, and in any case out there, leading an independent and real existence, is the ordering frame. Every question in history involves knowledge of some pre-existing condition, and any study of a work of art, or the development of a body of work, involves the notion of development, even if in short takes. Admittedly, this may not be the only or the most important way of studying the work of art, but when it intrudes it is not completely arbitrary—it is meaningful, it is one way.

The behavioral sciences, I have said, cannot determine their sequences (admittedly, this is open to argument, but it is my conclusion after twenty years with attempts to formulate introductory sequences). Nor do they *have* the out of the humanities. They *are* no chronological ordering frame that responds to their claim to be sciences, establishing generalizations, laws, governing concepts. As sciences, these generalizations should have an order rather than the accidental order of either history, or their own development as disciplines. Actually, one relatively satisfying way of ordering the social sciences is historically, in which case they become generalized history. Another way, which is scarcely satisfying, is to use their own history as an ordering principle—the history of their great minds, their great books. But as we know from the natural sciences and economics, the history of the discipline is only a minor branch of a developed field. For sociology, political science, and anthropology, there is the fear that in emphasizing the history of the discipline one abandons the claim to science, for science is a "corrective system of disposing of useless facts." Nevertheless, the temptation to simply teach the history of the discipline (Marx, Durkheim, Weber, etc.) is always there, because as a matter of fact we have no way of deciding what facts (or theories) are finally useless, once and for all. Just as we have no dominant ordering principle that determines what is elementary and what is advanced, we have no principle for determining *what historically generated theories should be set aside and what ones should become the basis for disciplinary work.*

Nothing, it seems, in the fields I am considering is ever shoved under the rug forever. What after all seemed as dead a few years ago as genetic explanations of intelligence? What seemed as limited as Marxism, in its various forms? The revival of interest in genetic interpretations of such matters as variations in intelligence, income and occupation, and in Marxist theory is not based basically on *internal* development in disciplines, something which has brought new data to light and made old theories less adequate. While there has been new work and important work

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in genetics, it is not that work, but rather new social developments leading us back to old studies, and well-known data, which lead to the new prominence of genetic theories. It is even harder to point to what kinds of developments, in the disciplines involved, provided any scientific reasons for the new prominence of Marxist theory. In both cases, clearly, external developments led to the return of what was considered earlier simply outmoded, inadequate, wrong. There is alas no final graveyard of social theory. And this is another problem in determining what should be taught as part of a general or liberal education.

Now I do not want to be taken as having presented a purely nihilistic or skeptical attitude about some of the key disciplines of the social sciences. First of all, these disciplines provide us with data—facts; and whatever the state of theory we apply to facts, the facts themselves are useful as to social conditions, political structures and processes, cultures in various parts of the world, and the like. Secondly, parts of all these disciplines have the lineaments of the better developed sciences: bodies of theory, tested by experiment and data collection. Thus, demography in sociology, perhaps some of the generalizations of voting behavior in political science, linguistics in anthropology, are scientifically in somewhat better shape than other parts of the field. And finally, some theories seem to me more adequate than others. I prefer the complexity of Weber's views of social change to Marx's; I find social explanations of phenomena—which I will not bother here to explain—more satisfying than racial, climatic, and others; I think pluralistic interpretations of the sources of American power and politics more adequate than monistic ones. And yet as I move from the areas of secure or relatively secure data, and from well-organized and structured subfields, to these larger questions, which we must include if we are to make general education in the social sciences serve for "acquiring a general understanding of society and the place of the individual within it," it is not easy to *establish* before a body of students, influenced by the ideas and tempers of the time, my preferences, which to me are fairly solidly based. Passion influences them, and I cannot deny that passion influences me, too, in my preferences, even if they are founded on a broader base of knowledge, thought, understanding.

Nor can we limit ourselves simply to the data and the more secure parts of our field. Unfortunately, when, presenting our fields to young minds, we choose such subjects as social change, the social preconditions of democracy or of political developments, cultural change under economic development, our communication is often at the level of an ordered history, or a history of ideas, or a higher journalism. I would be the last to spurn such contributions: It is the one I believe I make in my own teaching, but then one must be ready to deal with the student query, what do you have to offer that I would not have if I had been reading statistical abstracts, newspapers, and better journals more regularly? As the largest claim for sociology, political science, and anthropology, I would say that those of us working in the field often believe we can make good cases for one large general theory as against another, and perhaps we can,

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but we must always be ready for ambushes from abandoned theories, genetic, economic determinist, climatic, which often put up a surprisingly strong case and leave us very uncertain over the status of our disciplines not only as sciences but as something we should proffer to the young as part of their general education.

I will not say we present illusion or falsehood or uncertain knowledge as truth (though many of us do); we *can* make a contribution to general education. But the fact that we cannot decide what in our fields is elementary and what advanced, and that we cannot decide what theories and general explanations we can finally discard, makes this task a very difficult one.

And there is no question that our uncertainty about these matters is now much greater than it was ten or fifteen years ago. We have passed well beyond the heyday of expectations about the formation of a general behavioral science that would serve as the foundation of the policy sciences. The Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences still takes in fifty scholars a year—but they are ever more divorced from each other, ever more wrapped up in specialist undertakings, and the hope embodied in the title of that institution has receded. The Department of Social Relations at Harvard, another symbol of the hope of a behavioral science, is now disbanded into its various parts. Those parts of the newly developing behavioral science about which many people felt best—for example, the new subdisciplines of economic development and of political development of new states, both of which, in their blend of materials from a variety of social sciences and their focus on great contemporary issues, offered ideal subject matters for general education in the social sciences—both now seem to have weaker foundations than we thought. Who, 25 years ago, could have predicted that only Israel and India of the new states would not be under military or one-party rule, or that Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay would be considered part of the economically underdeveloped world? Undoubtedly all this can be explained: The problem is, it is not clear to our students that we can explain it any better than daily newspapers and weekly magazines—even though we are better funded to do it.

There is an interesting passage in *The Reforming of General Education* (p. 211) in which Daniel Bell writes that "the 'intellectual capital' of both courses [he is speaking of the Columbia Humanities and Contemporary Civilization courses] is being used up. This is a process at work in any intellectual enterprise," he continues, "as the organization of ideas, once novel, becomes common coin, or, as new critical views develop, intellectual styles become altered and the analytical conceptions, the organizing principles of the course, become questioned." Clearly the intellectual capital that Bell refers to here is in part an educational approach, in part "real" intellectual capital, a point of view, an approach, which has become common or questioned. If intellectual capital can be exhausted, one may also face a moment, and I believe we do in the social sciences, in which not only old approaches are questioned, but satisfactory new ones have not been formulated. We are well past the en-

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thusiasm of social planning and engineering in the New Deal period, past our self-confidence about reshaping a democratic and productive world with the aid of the social sciences in the post-World War II world. In the sixties there was a burst of enthusiasm over the use of the social sciences to reshape domestic society—about moving on from a more abstract and remote and explanatory social science, to one that became directly involved in the shaping of policy. I think that is a most productive line of development, but we certainly must report that early enthusiasms became rapidly sobered, and new foci of research and teaching—for example, urban studies, or policy studies—have been difficult to incorporate into general education because their intellectual foundations were so diverse. Once again, in these new areas as in others, it was hard for us to determine what was elementary and what was advanced, or what our theoretical foundations were, if any.

Admittedly there are many social scientists who feel much more sanguine about our present condition than I do, who feel more confident about presenting the fundamentals of our disciplines to young minds as a key part of their education in understanding the world about them. But I would suggest that on the whole, if we review the history of our disciplines since 1945, we will find that, while there has been progress, it is a modest progress and more in method than in ordered knowledge. In any case, we are faced with students today, and we must use the disciplines we work in in their condition today, and even if we plead that we stand alas only where the natural sciences stood in 1550 or 1600, we are still called to give an account of ourselves in general education. It is easier undoubtedly to devote ourselves to research and graduate training for research in the hope that eventually we will give a better account of ourselves. The question is, what can we do now?

It is far easier to describe our problems than to prescribe solutions, but let me make three suggestions which I believe, on the basis of my experience as a teacher, might enable us to contribute more effectively to general and liberal education.

First: I believe we should think of social science liberal education as based primarily on two disciplines, history and economics. It is these that I would like to see strengthened in the secondary schools and in the first year or two of college. History provides to my mind the best basis for the as yet undeveloped social sciences of sociology and political science. Daniel Bell believes that anthropology, too, is a good foundation for the other social sciences. I find ethnographic data and generalizations either too special or too uncertain to be of great value. Nevertheless, I am impressed with the long-lived contribution of anthropology to the curriculum of even primary schools, with its Eskimos and jungle dwellers, and could well admit some part of anthropology to general education. My fears for anthropology begin when it considers developed societies and where it achieves the same uncertainties—in its attempt to describe their structures, predominant values, national character—that I find in sociology. The history I conceive of as being one of the two basic foundations for general education in social science is one that is in-

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formed—as history increasingly is—by the large general considerations that have been a contribution of the other social sciences. I think of history as including the development of urbanization, patterns of social mobility, the social characteristics of major revolutions, the family and demographic change, bureaucracy and participation in government. In all these areas we have seen the ingenious use of reconstructed statistics in order to answer the kinds of questions that sociologists and political scientists have raised for contemporary society.

On the other hand, economics is the most developed social science and permits us to introduce the student to the complex relations between theory building and data collection, to show how certain questions could only be answered after the development of a certain data-gathering technology, and how certain questions could only be asked when certain kinds of data become available. But most important it shows us a social science built on clear and well-developed concepts, incorporated into theoretical schemes, and interacting with empirical investigation.

While the two foundations for general education in social science should be history and economics, certainly sociologists and political scientists can and should play a role in general education. After all, many sociologists and political scientists today train themselves in economics and work with historical materials. And even if they are without the full competence of those working in these disciplines, they can play a role in general education—and to the benefit of their own work in their own proper fields.

Second: Those parts of sociology, political science and anthropology that are best developed as systems of generalizations interrelating with empirical data should also play a role in general education. Thus leading candidates from these fields for general education in social science would be demography from sociology, electoral analysis from political science, sociolinguistics from anthropology. These may only brush some of the large theoretical generalizations that are so often the meat—unsatisfying meat, I believe—of general education in the social sciences. But they have a number of virtues. They introduce students to the use of numbers in social science, and to teach the social sciences without numbers and some numerical skills is a serious mistake. Secondly, they permit students to make some modest acquaintance with empirical work in the social sciences, and to teach the social sciences—even in general education—without empirical work is, I believe, a serious mistake. Our danger is windy abstraction, and whatever we do to protect ourselves from it will be worthwhile. Small polls can be taken; small studies undertaken in the use of language; exercises in the significance of certain changes for population growth. Admittedly these rather more modest essays will never solve the question of whether Marx or Weber was right. But then, what can?

Third: It is on the basis of such a foundation—perhaps in a second year, or a third year, or even, as Daniel Bell suggested, a synoptic fourth year—that I would want the large questions and the large abstractions to play a major role in general education. Here we would confront all the

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problems I—and others—have described; we would have to present our materials very often in the form of debates, some long and well-established and not soon if ever to be resolved, others new and recently launched, and conceivably in time to be settled by further research.

It is on the basis of secure disciplines and preliminary essays in the scientific side of the social sciences that we would tell students whom we want to educate that they can enter as educated men and women into these controversies. The controversies inevitably lead a double life as part of the coin of everyday discussion and political conflict, and as part of the unfolding disciplines of the social sciences. We can neither indoctrinate—because we are teachers—nor can we provide more settled knowledge and understanding than we have. But in the context of a hope that human knowledge does develop, we can give an honest statement of where we are, after first requiring from students that they accept the responsibility of learning what limited knowledge and science we do have.

I am not happy with these tentative suggestions, and would thus add finally that we have need of leading social scientists engaging themselves, more than they have, with the problems of general education. Is our lack of achievement in developing new curricula, as the natural sciences have done, a final statement on the character of our fields and their possible contribution to an ordered education? It may be. Or is it possible to invest further effort in the creation of a sound and valuable general education on man in society? For the moment, I vote for the second alternative. We will not know if it is feasible until more of us try.

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